The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1904.

The Week.

People who commented upon President Roosevelt's failure in Gen. Miles's case to take the usual official notice of the retirement of the General of the Army, said it betrayed a small-minded and unforgiving temper which they would not have suspected in him. But that inference did the President injustice. No one can question his native magnanimity after reading his telegram of condolence on occasion of Senator Hoar's death. It required a really lofty soul to overlook the fact that the Senator, in almost his last speech of any significance, thus characterized Theodore Roosevelt's dealings with Colombia:

"Now, Mr. President, I want to know—I think the American people want to know and have a right to know—whether this mighty policeman, instructed to keep the peace on that isthmus, seeing a man about to attack another, before he had struck his blow manacled the arms of the attacked so that he could not defend himself, leaving the assailant free, and then instantly proceeded to secure from the assailant the pocketbook of the victim, on the ground that he was *de facto* the owner?"

More Panama chickens are coming home to the White House to roost. Another emergency calling for quick thinking and prompt action is before the President. His own bantling Republic of Panama has filed a protest with the State Department, on account of the high-handed action of this Government in the canal zone. It alleges oppression and violation of the treaty, and asks that the matters in dispute be referred to the Hague Tribunal. It might seem difficult for Mr. Roosevelt, in his new rôle as *pacificator mundi*, to refuse so reasonable a request, especially as he is just about to summon the Hague Conference afresh; but it is already evident what sort of reply will be given to the pained Panamanians. The State Department has just explained pityingly to the Minister of Panama that arbitration is not for the likes of him. But, asks Minister Obaldia plaintively, is the Washington Administration to be both judge and jury, just because it is strong and Panama is weak? Si, Señor! After having robbed Colombia, do you suppose that this nation is going to let you have anything to say about our disposition of the booty?

The Republicans assure us that there is but one Roosevelt and that "two" is a slander. The approved maxims which he lays down as a candidate for the Presidency, are those which have always filled his thoughts and animated his whole life. Secretary Hay on Monday, addressing the International Peace Conference in Boston, added a few touches to the Presidential portrait now enjoying the greatest popularity. "President Roosevelt," he said, "has the same tireless energy in the work of concord that he displayed when he sought peace and ensured it on the field of battle. No Presidents in our history," he added, coupling McKinley with Roosevelt, "have been so faithful and so efficient as the last two in the cause of arbitration and of every peaceful settlement of difficulties." "We shall continue to advocate and to carry into effect, as far as practicable, the principle of the arbitration of such questions as may not be settled through diplomatic negotiations." Now every good citizen must rejoice to hear such principles as these enunciated by a national administration, whatever its party complexion. What puzzles us is why, in nominating so conspicuous a man of peace, ex-Gov. Black should have gone out of his way to talk about war, a thing the mere thought of which is evidently abhorrent. Why, in celebrating the virtues of a life-long apostle of peace, should the epigrammatic orator have used the phrases he did? "You may talk of orderly tribunals," said he, "and learned referees; you may sing in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life; you may strike from your book the last note of every martial anthem, and yet out in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the silent, rigid, upturned faces." If we are to accept Mr. Hay's estimate of the President, all this was not only a disagreeable picture, but absolutely irrelevant.

People who take their politics from bill-boards and cartoons and bawled headlines will naturally protest that they cannot read all of the letter by Carl Schurz, as printed in the *Evening Post* of Monday; and it is perhaps over long. It contains, however, matter of the highest importance, set forth with singular fair-mindedness and literary skill. The weight of his long experience and honorable reputation goes with all that Mr. Schurz writes; and this statement of his, though it may be attacked by many, will be asserted by no one to be the work of a partisan or dishonest mind. Republicans who have hailed Mr. Schurz's adhesion to their cause, in those political contests when he has sided with them, cannot with any grace sneer at him now, or discount his influence with men who choose their political company by conviction more than by prejudice. The analysis of President Roosevelt's character is made by Mr. Schurz with an impartiality and keenness of discrimination which call for especial admiration.

The tobacco-stamp decision, though it concedes a little to the Trust, is on the whole in favor of the "independents." The "large red stamp" is to be red, but not large, and is to be put on the bottom of the box. The arguments in support of the decision are, be it noted, those advanced by the "independents." They protested that in practice the stamp was used as a trade-mark to advertise the imported goods. President Roosevelt, as his view is expounded by the Secretary of the Treasury, holds:

"The Government's business is to collect the revenue and to provide as far as possible against fraud; but it is not the Government's business to furnish a guaranty in the form of a trade-mark for the benefit of the goods. This should be left in the tobacco business exactly as it is in all other businesses."

Back of this conclusion stands a glittering aggregation of talent, as the late Mr. Barnum would have said: the Secretary of the Treasury and two of his assistants, the Solicitor of the Treasury, Attorney-General Moody, and the President of the United States. From the unanimous opinion of these dignitaries no one except the Tobacco Trust is likely to dissent. The "independents" and their 250,000 votes and eight Congressional districts—or was it twenty-eight in their last outgiving?—are presumably happy.

In view of the awkward position of Republican orators and organs, called on to explain the $23,000,000 deficiency in the Government's revenues for the first two months of the fiscal year, it is natural that they should greet with jubilation the news of a $5,800,000 surplus for September. It is true that the same month in 1903 yielded a surplus revenue of $6,300,000, and in 1902 one of $11,000,000. But there is, at all events, a surplus, and it may be that the turn of the tide is close at hand. Receipts by the Government, last month, ran beyond those of 1903—which has not happened since February. Expenditure increased, to be sure, more rapidly than income; but expenditure can sometimes be temporarily held in check. Even so, the Government's accounts will not provide very great comfort to Administration orators. October interest payments, footing up something like $4,000,000, cannot be deferred; it is not easy to keep down the drafts of the Navy Department, with the year's much larger appropriations on the books, and even last October there was a deficit of nearly $5,000,000. If last year's results were to be duplicated, election day would be approached with a deficit, for the four completed months of the fis-

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cal year, amounting to something like $23,000,000. The Secretary of the Treasury, last December, estimated that the deficit for the full fiscal year 1905 would be just this sum. To escape exceeding even that far from optimistic estimate, it would be necessary to have no more excess of expenditure between election day and July first.

Despite confident announcements, the Fall River mills did not open on Monday. That city—formerly so bustling—is to be given still further opportunity to reflect on President Roosevelt's dictum that wages were never higher. Its mills are shut up, its merchants are losing money, and the men in the stores are being thrown out of jobs. All this is because the cotton-mill operatives are a little slower in recognizing that times have changed than other classes of labor have been. A good many mills of all kinds have been starting up lately because the employees have concluded to accept lower wages and talk less about the rights of unions. A heavy demand for cotton goods might bring victory to the Fall River operatives, but this is not yet in sight. Despite Republican prosperity, consumers think twice before paying high prices for cottons. If the mills are going to do any business, they must economize, just as those in a great many other industries have had to do. Cotton manufacturing is at present waiting, like every other business, for the country to catch up with its extraordinary expansion of the last six years. If the cut in wages is accepted in Fall River, it will undoubtedly be applied throughout New England. Perhaps that will be the result of the conference which, it is said, will shortly be held to settle the strike.

Gov. Odell is serving at least one useful purpose. He shows what the fate of a boss would be who should dare ask the voters to say what they think of him. Bosses know better than to submit themselves to a popular election. At any time when Platt was acclaimed as the undisputed leader of his party in this State, notoriously he could not have been elected to the humblest public office. This he well knew, and wisely stuck to his machine and his bond-slaves in the Legislature. But Odell has done his best to make himself the chief issue in this State campaign. Poor Mr. Higgins has thus far been so pushed into the background that, if he does not emerge soon, people will think that it is Odell who is the Republican candidate for Governor. Odell is making his wonderful card indexes of voters and appointing deputy leaders and exercising every art of the political manager in order—to elect Mr. Higgins? No, to vindicate himself. But the gathering clouds show what sort of storm is going to burst upon the boss who seeks a vindication at the ballot-box. We wish all the bosses would "try it on" in the Odell fashion, so that they, too, might get the popular verdict upon their manners and morals.

If we may judge by the space devoted to it in Western newspapers, the Mormon question will play a very important part in the politics of the Rocky Mountain States this year. The new third party in Utah, calling itself the "American party," has decided to nominate candidates of its own for all offices except Presidential electors and members of the judiciary. Meanwhile, Senator Kearns, one of the most prominent men in the new movement, in order to show that his attack on "Smootism" is disinterested, has announced that he will not be a candidate for re-election. Nothing shows better the curious position of the two parties towards the Mormon Church than the fact that at the initial mass meeting of Gentiles at Salt Lake City, where Republicans were the moving spirits, the most vigorous and effective speaker was the Democratic Senator from Idaho, Mr. Dubois. In Idaho his party is making a strenuous fight against Church domination, while the other ignores it as an issue. In Utah, since the Mormon Senator demonstrated his control over the Republican organization, a professedly non-partisan anti-Mormon movement has begun, while the Democrats keep quiet and hope at heart that the solid Church vote will not be cast against them. In Wyoming, a polygamous Mormon has just resigned as a Republican Presidential elector. But for the Smoot hearings before the Senate committee last winter, it is hardly probable that agitation would have taken this form. Unquestionably the most effective anti-Mormon document put forth in years is President Smith's admission that if Apostle Smoot had run for the Senate without the Church's permission, he would have been considered "out of harmony with his quorum."

Reports from Vermont tell of an organized and powerful movement for the repeal of the license law passed two years ago, and this will be one of the important questions before the Legislature which assembled on Tuesday, though the party in power has pledged itself to another two years' trial of the law. It is evident that there has been a decided reaction from the temporary enthusiasm in which the State overthrew the long-standing prohibitory law. Forty-four towns which voted "yes" two years ago, voted "no" this year, while only one changed from no license to license. Most of the towns still for license declared for it by reduced majorities. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that to say that license has failed in any number of localities is a very different thing from saying that the local-option law is a failure as compared with statutory prohibition. It is a good thing that these forty-four towns have seen their way to get rid of the saloon through the movement of their own public sentiment—much better for the cause of morality and sound government than if the same places were compelled to reform because other towns outvoted them. The Southern States present to-day the largest stretches of "dry" territory in the country, though not one of them has State prohibition. Local sentiment has brought about a gradual extension of no-license territory, until in such a State as Tennessee the sale of liquor is confined to less than a dozen of the larger cities. If every town and city of Vermont should vote "dry" at the next election, it would not necessarily be an argument for going back to statutory prohibition.

Secretary Taft's order that the Chicago River tunnels must be lowered before April, 1906, so as not to interfere with navigation, is a step in one of the most extraordinary campaigns ever taken against a municipal nuisance. The tunnels effectually blocked the river to vessels of any great draught, and agitation to have them lowered has been intermittent for many years. One local authority after another was appealed to, without result. As a last resort the city applied to the Federal Government, not for the usual financial aid in improving a river for navigation, but for drastic action. Representatives from the city of Chicago introduced at the last session of Congress and pushed through a bill authorizing the Secretary of War to declare the tunnels an obstruction to navigation, and impose a heavy fine for every month of their maintenance. "I find that I have not the moral resolution to do right of my own accord and remove those tunnels," the city said, in effect; "I therefore beg that you threaten me and if necessary punish me until I do." The rod is to be applied by request of the naughty boy. It was a novel enough way of going about a reform and may prove to be effective; yet we fancy that the city would have been up in arms had the initiative come from without.

The *Evening Post's* Washington correspondent pertinently suggests that there should be some organization akin to the Indian Rights Association with the object of supplying accurate news from the Philippines. As it is now, the people of this country must depend for their information largely on the reports of officials, most of whom are directly interested in representing the situation as paradisaical. President Roosevelt declares the insular government a mo-

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del, and Secretary Taft does not dissent when his enthusiastic superior compares him to Cromer, Milner, and other great colonial lights. Governor Wright's only trouble is the pesky Americans (Mr. Roosevelt included) who will upset the Filipinos by talking of their independence. But outside of official circles there is a very great difference of opinion. The military men in the islands can see nothing in the future save bloodshed and unceasing strife. The American newspapers and business men in Manila cannot sufficiently express their contempt for the commission and all its works, while intelligent foreigners, like John Foreman, consider our experiment a practical failure thus far. Surely, there ought to be some means of getting news of the islands which is absolutely non-partisan and accurate, leaning neither towards the Civil Commission, the army, nor the merchants whose cry is the Philippines for the Americans. If something of this kind is not done, the public must continue to be misled or deceived.

American consuls in Europe are now busy participating in a symposium on "dumping." The views of our representatives at London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh were published on Thursday. These, according to high protectionist authority, strikingly demonstrate the 'inadequacy" of the Democratic argument that the tariff should be lowered to keep American manufacturers from selling cheaper abroad than at home. The British, it seems, keep up the home market and cut prices to foreigners, just like our own Trusts. Such is the conclusion drawn from the following statement of our consul at Glasgow: "Surplus stocks are avoided, even to the extent of closing the works. However, if there is a surplus, 'odds and ends,' it is exported at reduced prices." The consul-general at London is "quite convinced" that concessions are made to foreign buyers, but he slips up when it comes to furnishing proof. The best he can do is to cite the "dumping" of several hundred copies of a book which "did not sell as well as expected" at home. No doubt the British manufacturer cuts prices abroad when he finds he has miscalculated the market, but nothing is said by our consuls to contradict the plain inference of the report recently issued by Mr. Chamberlain's tariff commission—namely, that the "dumping" methods of Germany and the United States are something English and Scotch manufacturers have yet to be educated up to. That is why the Hon. Joseph wants a protective tariff. It doesn't make a particle of difference how big your loss is abroad, if you can only make your friends and neighbors at home foot the bill. That is one difference between the British and the American "dumper"; the latter can hide behind a protective tariff.

Our consul at Pretoria recently lodged a protest with the British Foreign Office against the treatment of thirteen American negroes in the Transvaal. They have not been allowed to travel in second-class railway carriages, or to walk on the side-paths (which seem to be reserved exclusively for the whites), or to start in business. It will, unfortunately, not be difficult for the Foreign Office, if it sees fit, to send our consul some countervailing facts about the treatment of negroes south of Mason and Dixon's line, with a few references to our "Jim Crow" cars. Sensitive Southerners will, of course, see in all this merely another Republican bid for the negro vote. The English Liberals are citing it as proof of their contention that Mr. Chamberlain's moving indignation on account of the outrageous treatment of the Kaffirs by the Boers was pumped up. Lord Lansdowne, in the days before the war, declared that, "among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, he did not know of any that filled him with more indignation than its treatment of the Queen's Indian subjects." Lord Salisbury's war cry was: "Equal rights for men of all races." The wrongs of the poor Kaffirs were dwelt upon by any number of humbugging Imperialistic orators, who now pay no attention to the appeals of British Indians, American negroes, and Zulus for the restoration of the good old times of President Kruger.

Sir William Harcourt enjoyed in England, and particularly in the House of Commons, a repute not unlike that of Senator Hoar in this country. He was the representative of an elder day not only in years, but in his entire conception of public life. The ways of the wire-puller and the mealy-mouthed politician he could never make his own. A formidable debater, he spoke not for the passing fad of the hour, but for a consistent body of principles which he had thought out and was prepared resolutely to defend. In all that related to finance and fiscal policy he was a master, and nobody would have been better able to pulverize Mr. Chamberlain's contentions. Hence Sir William's disappearance from the scene at this juncture will make his loss doubly felt. Uncompromising in public life, and above the art of being all things to all men, he was not a popular leader of his party; but in private his charm was great. His learning and wit and knowledge of the world made him much in demand socially. One has only to read George Russell's stories of his bright sayings to see that he was as deft in the swordsmanship of repartee as he was overpowering in his use of the Nasmyth hammer in public debate.

The Japanese movement before Mukden is unquestionably the hugest manœuvre ever undertaken by a modern army. A front sixty miles long has hitherto been unheard of in military annals, and raises at once some very interesting questions. Can an army extended over such a distance be successfully commanded by one human being? The size of a regiment has been limited by what is considered the capacity of a colonel, just as the size of a squadron of cavalry has practically been fixed by the physical inability of a captain to control more than a given number of horsemen. If Oyama can really manœuvre four armies as one, keep them in touch on plain and mountain, and prevent the line from developing a fatal weakness at any critical point, the art of warfare must certainly have advanced. The Japanese are said to be very strong in their field telegraph and in their planning in advance for every detail of a battle; but the failure of the smaller enveloping movement at Liaoyang makes it probable that Oyama will again have to content himself with a strategic success rather than the capture or annihilation of Kuropatkin's forces. Whether Kuroki is once more to bear the brunt of the turning movement on the east, or whether Oyama will turn to the plains on the west as the best means of striking the Russians, has not yet been clearly developed.

Japan's resort to a third internal loan —this time of forty millions of dollars—shows how rapidly her war burdens are beginning to pile up. A military expert, writing in the London *Times*, roughly estimates her daily war expenditure at $500,000, or $15,000,000 a month. This is obviously guesswork, particularly as no accurate information as to the number and pay of the Japanese reserves now being called into service is obtainable. One of the heaviest items is the cost of coolie transportation in Mantchuria—paid in hard cash —and this expense steadily increases the further the Japanese armies penetrate into Mantchuria. It is only a question of time before Japan must again enter the market for a foreign loan, this time with her railroads as a pledge instead of her customs, and there are those who believe that her recent victories will enable her to obtain better terms than when she negotiated her previous loan, which was concluded before her armies had successfully crossed the Yalu. As for Russia, the writer in the *Times* remarks that her "finance is a much too tangled skein for any one to unravel who is not to the manner born." M. Lévy, the French expert, calculated in June that the direct cost of the war for Russia was between thirty and thirty-five millions monthly. This must have been increased since then, owing to the mobilization of the additional army corps and the recent disasters, so that forty millions a month is now a conservative estimate of the actual expenditure.

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GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

When the United States Senate comes to pay its customary tribute to the departed senior member from Massachusetts, it can unanimously praise one who for twenty years defended it against the charge of decadence and growing disrepute. Mr. Hoar did more than that: he resented with asperity attempts to bring the force of public opinion to bear upon that body by petitions and the like—as in the case of the ill-fated Olney-Pauncefote arbitration treaty of 1897. Loyalty such as this will have its official reward; and it will also be remembered, to the credit of Mr. Hoar's heart if not of his authority as a Constitutional lawyer, that he insisted on the right of every State to be represented continuously in the Senate. He abhorred a vacuum in his favorite club; and when the occasion arose in Quay's case in 1899, he stoutly stood up for the legality of the appointment (really a self-appointment, the Governor of Pennsylvania being Quay's creature), though the Senate eventually unseated Quay. This was to be more papist than the Pope, but the excess of zeal in behalf of a full Senate could only be regarded as flattering. Courteous himself, Mr. Hoar did nothing to impair the sacred "courtesy" of the Senate. One tiny fly may, by the too critical, be detected in this pot of ointment, for Mr. Hoar had some wise and weighty words of protest against his beloved McKinley's forestalling independent action of the Senate by appointing its members on important commissions, afterwards to be reviewed by them in their seats.

Individual brother Senators will, of course, bring especial palms. Aldrich will lament the passionate devotee of protection, whom nothing could induce to let Canadian fish enter our ports free. Lodge, reflecting with a sigh on Mr. Hoar's having called the public to witness that he had always voted the same way as his junior colleague, will laud his righteous abhorrence of the independent voter, and dwell on their paternal and filial relations unmarred by Lodge's having—in Everett's pregnant phrase—changed not his mind, but his soul. Spooner will reveal the admirable quality in Mr. Hoar which reconciled right and intense feeling *contra* with sheepish voting *pro*, as in the case of the Panama treaty. Platt will attest Mr. Hoar's commendable coolness towards civil-service reform, while preserving a discreet silence as to his objection to the political assessment of office-holders. Some one may claim a crown for him for supporting (nearly at the expense of his reëlection) the River and Harbor bill vainly vetoed by President Arthur in 1882. More than one will rise up and call him blessed for having helped enact the Arrears-of-Pensions bill.

All his good, we fear, will not be spoken of in the chamber which he has quitted. Before entering it from the House of Representatives he had been faithful in exposing the corruption of the Grant régime. His speeches on the Philippine and the Panama iniquities will remain his noblest monument. He worked hard but uselessly to eliminate the word "cede" from the Paris Treaty with Spain; he inserted in the Military Appropriation bill a statesmanlike provision against the sale and lease of public lands in the Philippines except as regulated. His judgment of our treatment of Colombia will be that of posterity, and no one more truly and fervently brought our Imperialism to book with the Declaration and the Constitution. Yet he denounced President Cleveland for his reversal of the collusive revolution in Hawaii, designed to precipitate annexation, and excused this defection from his own anti-Imperial principles by pointing to the lax morals of Queen Liliuokalani and to the scanty population of the archipelago—"it was a very little one." Towards Cleveland, the validity of whose election he challenged, he was never either fair or generous or anything but partisan, unless in the single matter of the Presidential Succession bill, which he was willing to have inure, if need be, to the benefit of any Democratic Administration deprived of its head. His whole Senatorial career, at least, was marked by a confusion of thought and an inconsistency of action truly remarkable in a man of such natural gifts and training as Mr. Hoar. His economic deliverances were nothing less than naïf, and in general he displayed a lack of humor that belied his relationship to his brother, the Judge.

When the Judge was contesting Republican support in Massachusetts against Butler in 1876, he did not, though a bolter, forfeit the assistance of Mr. George Hoar, then a Representative in Congress. But the latter could not abide bolting in Theodore Lyman, running as a civil-service-reform candidate in 1882. On Butler's election as Governor of Massachusetts and triumphant appearance *ex officio* at the Harvard Commencement, Mr. Hoar, though president of the alumni, refused to walk in the procession. On the other hand, having shown up in blistering terms our un-American offence against the Filipinos, he not only maintained his attachment for McKinley, but, still as president of the alumni, constrained the Harvard authorities to offer the President an honorary degree, which only by accident of non-attendance went unbestowed. He may be said to have atoned for this in some measure by his refusal to deliver a memorial address in eulogy of McKinley to his Worcester fellow-citizens; but this refusal was really a surprise.

Senator Hoar's complacency and optimism were inexhaustible. He was never troubled by the great change which came over the composition of the Senate in his time. He was blind to the corruption of his party, being able to divorce, in his conception, the rank and file of the voters from the machine whose encroachments have perverted the Constitutional scheme of election to both houses of Congress. In the Republican rank and file he saw the hope of the country, and to that end he was a Republican first, last, and all the time. "He was prepared," he said, "to serve God in the minority rather than Baal with the Democrats and Mugwumps, even though they were in the majority." He never could realize that the Republican party had been fossilized by Protection; much less that the Democratic party alone contained within itself a self-reformatory element—though he had twice witnessed the miracle of that element compelling a victorious support from the baser, and passed away in the midst of what we hope will be a third example, begun by the nomination of Parker.

In point of family—or what we should prefer to call sound New England stock—of intellectual, legal, and legislative training, scholarly and oratorical distinction, personal dignity and amiability, and faithful application to the duties of his office, Senator Hoar worthily filled the chair of Webster and of Sumner. We would not say that he cannot, in these aspects, be replaced, but it will be with difficulty. He himself did nothing to make it easy by contending against that slavish party discipline which relegates to private life men of cultivation and political aptitude, but too original, erect, and self-respecting for party requirements. On the other hand, plenty of politicians can be found who may be relied on to vote regularly under party dictation, with or without the privilege of high-minded, eloquent, and convincing outbursts against the course eventually acquiesced in.

A CANDID REPUBLICAN.

In the October *Atlantic* Representative McCall discusses "The Issues of the Campaign" from a "Republican Point of View." His article, by its remarkable freedom from partisan bias and its frank and truthful estimate of men and measures, certainly stands far above the run of political writing. Mr. McCall has fairly earned the liberty of speech which he enjoys and exercises. His hold upon the Eighth District of Massachusetts—one of the most intelligent in the State—has only been strengthened by his independent attitude. The more muttering there has been about his plain-speaking and honest voting, and the direr the threats of the Lodge machine to punish him for insubordination, the

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more steadfastly his constituents have stood by him. Elected for six successive terms, his latest plurality was nearly 7,000.

An author and student as well as a Congressman, Mr. McCall writes with the impartiality of an historian. His calm verdict upon the struggle for the gold standard makes kindling wood of the Republican platform, and reduces much Republican oratory on that subject to mendacity. After showing how his own party was too much responsible for the financial difficulties which threatened to submerge us in 1893, Congressman McCall asserts that it was President Cleveland who "heroically performed the task" of laying "a secure foundation for the national credit." One passage we must quote:

> "It is not a difficult thing to be a patriot on dress parade, to the music of bands and amid the popular acclaim. One can be that while sacrificing the people to their own momentary errors. Mr. Cleveland was not that sort of patriot. He was never a great favorite with the gallery. But in unflinching pursuit of a really patriotic purpose, in bravely incurring the odium involved in the performance of a pressing public duty—a duty the discharge of which was of momentous consequence to the country—it would not be easy in the history of all our Presidents to find a parallel to Mr. Cleveland's conduct at this particular crisis. But his heroism proved for the time being his undoing. He saved the gold standard, but he lost his party."

Men who try to be as candid as Mr. McCall must admit that his argument against the Democratic party, drawn from its desertion and execration of its President at that great national crisis, has much weight. He fears that the party would, in a similar emergency, fall away from Judge Parker. That candidate Mr. McCall recognizes as "a man of courage and independence," and remarks that his qualities would not be "out of place in the Presidential office"; but he points out the danger of a breach with his party as befell Mr. Cleveland. It is a result, we must concede, not impossible, though it is both possible and probable that Judge Parker has a talent for winning over opponents not possessed by the ruggeder Cleveland. It is wholly conceivable, therefore, that in a perilous juncture he would stand as immovable as his rock-like predecessor, while yet able to conciliate and harmonize the various elements of his party.

The Massachusetts Congressman's references to the tariff are well-nigh sacrilegious. To the Home Market Club they will seem a stumbling-block and to the stand-patters foolishness. Tariff revision must speedily come, affirms Mr. McCall. If it be said that the Democrats threaten a radical revision, disturbing to business, he declares that "between a radical revision and no revision at all, the former is preferable." If some schedules are not soon changed, they will "impose the payment of a tribute as directly as if that were the declared purpose of the law," and "the plunder and confiscation of to-day become the vested interests of to-morrow." This is simply awful, coming from a Republican, but worse is to follow. Mr. McCall actually ventures to hold an opinion differing from President Roosevelt's! He says that it "cannot seriously be contended" that the tariff has not a direct relation with Trusts. This is a cruel characterization of Mr. Roosevelt's serious contention in his letter of acceptance, and may bring down upon Mr. McCall the President's charge that no man who talks about attacking Trusts by means of tariff reduction can be an earnest enemy of the Trusts. Yet the Congressman is ready with the rejoinder, since he says of Mr. Roosevelt's famous anti-Trust proceedings: "It may be questioned whether they have abated by a single farthing the profits which the Trusts have wrung from the people."

On the whole question of Imperialism and the Philippine policy, Congressman McCall reaffirms his well-known views. He says that if President Roosevelt's language means anything, it means that he believes in the "ultimate independence" of the Filipinos. One of his sound remarks is: "We must change our relations with the Philippines or readjust our system of taxation." The venture that was to result in immense profit has really proved a frightful drain. "Our revenue," says this Republican member of the Ways and Means Committee, "is insufficient to support us with our colonial appendages." Of President Roosevelt's "fine public spirit" and "high ideals of government," Mr. McCall speaks approvingly, but indulges in something like mirth at "that creature of carnage and war, of blood and iron," which is the offspring of the "imagination of some of his eulogists." Indeed, for all the swaggering about the Spanish war—"a war between a cripple and a Colossus"—Mr. McCall has only contempt. "After a half-dozen years of boastful exaggeration and 'world-power' fustian, which have brought us to the point of bullying and beating our little brothers among nations, the time has come for the republic to resume its serenity."

Foolish or bigoted Republicans will denounce Mr. McCall as a traitor to his party. Even ordinarily sensible Republicans may pray to be delivered from such a candid friend, with a residential election pending, and may accuse the *Atlantic* of malice in selecting such a champion of the Republican cause when it might easily have got a writer who would have cried up Republican policies to the skies, but whom nobody would read. Yet if Republicanism has any future, it lies with honest men who stand erect and speak the thing they will, whether girt by friend or foe. And if Massachusetts Republicanism knew the things that make for its own peace, it would be thinking of a successor to Senator Hoar, not in the person of a moneybags or a satellite of Lodge, but in such a man as Samuel Walker McCall.

ROOSEVELT'S PHILIPPINE INCONSISTENCIES.

Scornful as he is of the ability, courage, and consistency of his opponents, nothing quite so aroused President Roosevelt's indignation, in his letter of acceptance, as their uncertainty on the Philippine question. He referred with the utmost contempt to "their irreconcilable differences of opinion," their proved inability to create a conservative policy," and "their readiness for the sake of expediency" to abandon principles. The Democrats, he asserted, had occupied three different positions within fifty days, and one of them, self-government by the Filipinos, was an impudent annexation from Mr. Roosevelt himself.

The President's sarcastic references to the divisions in the ranks of the Democratic party are particularly delightful when one thinks of the good Republicans like Senator Hoar, Congressman McCall, ex-Gov. Boutwell, Justice Brewer, and many others who felt bitterly outraged by the forcible subjugation of the Filipinos. And when it comes to the ability of a party to create a definite policy, we may well ask: What is the Republican plan in regard to the islands? There are many Roosevelt partisans who declare that any one who should haul down the flag in the Philippines ought to be shot as a rebel. Gen. W. H. Carter, a Roosevelt appointee commanding the department of the Visayas, complains in his official report that the present lawlessness of the Filipinos "will delay their ultimate Americanization," and protests that temporary barracks "only serve to develop and confirm in the minds of Filipinos the idea that Americans do not intend to hold the islands permanently." President Schurman, on the other hand, speaks and works for an early independence, while Secretary Taft talks of independence as wholly remote and practically impossible. The Republican platform, ignoring the wishes of hundreds of Republican professors, college presidents, and clergymen, remained silent upon the question of the future disposition of the archipelago.

This state of affairs alone, it would seem, might have deterred the President from indulging in such irony at the expense of his political adversaries. It might have occurred to him, too, that somebody would take the trouble to run over the expressions of opinion in his own multitudinous speeches since 1898, and call attention to the very large-sized beam in his own eye. For instance, on August 31, 1899, Governor Roosevelt declared to his hearers that "The right of justice and of equality be-

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fore the law must be established—there [in the Philippines], and then it is our duty to build up by degrees, as rapidly as possible, a spirit of manly independence and self-reliance, without which *free* institutions cannot exist." A year later, this present-day advocate of self-government for the Filipinos said in his letter of acceptance of the Vice-Presidential nomination (September 15): "To grant self-government to Luzon under Aguinaldo would be like granting self-government to an Apache reservation under some local chief." Lest anybody should misunderstand this, he made his position perfectly clear twenty-three days later by thus preaching the doctrine of perpetual control of the archipelago: "We cannot in honor shirk our work in the Philippines. . . . We are there, *and we have got to stay.*"

On Memorial Day of 1902 the peaceful spirit was once more supreme in Roosevelt's breast, and, under its enervating influence, he took what he would have characterized two years earlier as a "step backward" by expressing the following most admirable sentiments: "Peace and freedom—are there two better objects for which a soldier can fight? These are precisely the objects for which our soldiers are fighting in the Philippines." And he proceeded to give aid and comfort to Aguinaldo and all the *insurrectos* by repeating that "our armies do more than bring peace, do more than bring order. *They bring freedom.*" In this same address he used the words national independence in connection with the Filipinos, and went on to assert that when the Filipinos have "shown their capacity for real freedom by their power of self-government, then, and not till then, will it be possible to decide whether they are to exist independently of us or be knit to us by ties of common friendship and interest." On July 27 of the present year, in his speech of acceptance, Mr. Roosevelt came back to the self-government idea once more by stating: "We have established in the islands a government by Americans, assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos, assisted by Americans." Previously he had declared in his "Big Stick" letter that "it is not true that the United States has any land-hunger." So here this model of consistency rests to-day, on the question of independence.

As to our motives in the islands, Mr. Roosevelt's opinions are similarly varied. At Lawrence, Mass., on August 26, 1902, his view was: "Now we will govern the islands well. We will govern them primarily in their interests, but *in our interests also.*" In April, 1903, he asserted that "The government is conducted *purely* in the interests of the people of the islands." Contrariwise, in 1900, after likening the Filipinos to Apaches, he dared to say: "What the Boxers have done in China would have been done by the followers of Aguinaldo if it had not been for the firmness of President McKinley and those who have stood by him in the last two years." Last year these opinions were quite forgotten. Then, while extolling Gov. Taft and his associates, he affirmed that "With them and under them we have associated the best men among the Filipinos, so that the great majority of the officials, including many of the highest rank, are themselves natives of the islands. The administration is incorruptibly honest; Justice is as jealously safeguarded as here at home." Yet everybody knows that more than three-fourths of the native officeholders of to-day are the same savages who fought us from 1898 to 1900. What a marvellous triumph for civilization!

This confuting of Roosevelt out of the mouth of Roosevelt could be continued much further. But these instances suffice to show his lack of clear thought and his want of statesmanlike policy based on principle. And who so rash as to predict where Mr. Roosevelt will stand a year or two hence if reëlected?

OUR ELECTION AUGURS.

In printing a critical article on the art of prophecy, the London *Spectator* did not perhaps realize that it was offering anything especially timely. But on this side of the water, where few days pass without a prediction by somebody in authority that some particular State is about to give some particular majority for some particular candidate, the subject is particularly suited to the season. An important element in any political campaign is its "atmosphere"; and one of the ways of putting heart into the workers and winning over doubters is to carry out the maxim, "Claim everything."

He would, in truth, be a strange sort of political manager who should stand up before the votes were counted and admit, in so many words, that the election was lost. We expect the Republicans to receive news from the Gulf States, as Mr. Dooley said, "so encouraging as to be almost incredible, or quite so." A prophecy of victory is always regarded as most effective when it is most specific. When a man of reputed sagacity gives his name to an exact numerical forecast of results, it almost compels conviction. Yet even such careful and conscientious anticipations sometimes go wrong.

It takes only a few minutes of browsing through newspaper files of twelve years ago to find the exact counterparts of the glib prophecies of to-day. Then, as now, the note of absolute conviction could be heard from every oracle. Senator Hiscock started on a Western trip at about this season, and, to an interviewer at Chicago, remarked that "New York will give Harrison about the same plurality that he had in 1888." Harrison's plurality was 14,000. Two months after the prediction, the State gave Cleveland 46,000 plurality. Two weeks before election, the optimism of the party carried the national executive committee to the point of sending out a semi-official telegram claiming New York by 20,000. This was signed by such astute politicians as Chairman Carter, and Messrs. McComas and Bliss. In other States, the Republican confidence displayed itself even more strikingly. Ex-Governor, now Senator, Foraker declared in mid-October that there was no trouble about carrying Indiana. State Chairman Gowdy, after a "careful analysis," declared "Indiana is safely Republican, in my opinion, by 5,000 to 10,000 majority." A few weeks later, after a "poll," he raised his estimate to "from 10,000 to 20,000." The State, of course, went Democratic by 7,000.

Henry C. Payne has been one of the Wisconsin leaders who have most convincingly assured the President that there is no cause for apprehension over the Wisconsin situation. We find him saying this same thing in September, 1892. Mr. Burrows, now a Senator from Michigan, after a tour of eleven States with the best of opportunities for "sizing up" the situation, set 25,000 as a reasonable figure for Harrison's plurality in Wisconsin. The State, in fact, gave Cleveland 7,000. Mr. Burrows likewise gave Illinois to Harrison by 20,000. The voters gave it to Cleveland by 27,000. John Kean, jr., who now represents New Jersey in the Senate, was then a candidate for Governor, and was one of the most modest of prognosticators, estimating his plurality at a paltry 5,000, which turned out to be just 20,000 too great.

How, after all, does any one pretend to know beforehand the result of an election? Our Senator goes West on a speaking tour, and, coming back for a call at national headquarters, remarks that Indiana is safe by 15,000. He has talked with the local managers of his own party. They base their information on reports from lieutenants. Some of these have attempted systematic polls of their territory, some have not, but all are eager to make the best possible showing for themselves. Even a poll conscientiously taken records but few of the independents whose shift from one side to the other is one of the chief forces in determining elections. Taking the most mercenary view, there is always the other fellow's money to be considered, and the difficulty of making men "stay bought."

That is the professional politician's situation. The layman is really much worse off. He is strangely fond of having an opinion beforehand on the result in an election. How does he get it? If he is a man of exceptionally wide acquaintance, he may have chatted on the

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issues, before the ballots are cast, with something like one two-thousandth of the voting population of this State. He knows three life-long Republicans who are indignant over the pension order, and two others who fear Imperialism so much that they will desert their old party allegiance. On the other hand, he has found four Democrats who wish to hold the Philippines, two who are enthusiastic over the clever handling of the Panama complication, and one who has put his money in a knife factory and fears tariff reduction. Seven is greater than five. Therefore, the Republicans will sweep the State.

The *Spectator*, in the article alluded to, describes "the respectable form of prophecy which consists in deductions from data which are too obscure and subtle to be obvious to a man's contemporaries." Such the glowing utterances of soothsayers at headquarters pretend to be, yet the *Spectator* recalls unfulfilled prophecies. "To the same class belong, too," it remarks, "prophecies which have failed, as when Adams on the eve of the French Revolution saw a long period of peace and prosperity in store for France, but immediate anarchy for England, or when De Tocqueville declared that America must remain an agricultural country with no large fortunes among her citizens. Both Adams and De Tocqueville thought they argued from good data, but they read their data wrong."

THE GOSPEL OF WORK FOR THE INDIANS.

The report made to the American Bar Association at St. Louis recently by its Committee on Indian Legislation contains the only gospel which can save what is still savable in the American Indian. It declares that what the nation must do for its ward is to compel him not only to work, but to work to an economic end. It is too much to expect, as the committee realize, that every Indian will at once become self-supporting, but he can be put upon the road to self-support and required to stay there. The compulsion will come, they believe, when the red man finds himself on the ground, with the alternative of digging a living out of it or starving to death.

Two distinct merits appear in this proposition. First, it does not blink disagreeable facts, perceiving that some Indians will be crushed under the wheel of civilization through their own unwillingness to adapt themselves to the universal order of mankind. Second, it frankly recognizes the wisdom of doing at once a duty which must be done some day, and which will only be made the harder by prolonged postponement. The trouble with nearly every white philanthropist who addresses his attention to the Indian problem is that he lets sentiment dominate judgment. His pity for the individual quite overwhelms his sense of justice for the race. Because, in a group of one thousand Indians, five hundred would take their chances of going hungry if reduced to eating only what they earn, he is willing to sacrifice the welfare of the remaining five hundred who could and would do something for themselves if it were required of them. This is an error not only of logic, but of plain humanity. The history of mankind is full of illustrations showing that human progress has a cruel as well as a noble side. To abandon lawmaking because there are some members of every community too weak or too wrongheaded to conform their conduct to the laws when made, would be a monstrous wrong. Nobody except an anarchist would entertain such an idea, if stated abstractly; and yet there are thousands of good citizens who balk at the thought of bringing the Indian under the law of labor to which all the rest of mankind are subject.

But the committee err in assuming that their proposed new order of things is not already in operation. The Government—lamely, it is true, and in the lumbering way in which it does most things—has been enforcing a compulsory labor law on Indian reservations for some years past. The practice has attracted less attention than it deserved, because it has been established by executive order and not by statute. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in pursuance of the general discretion reposed in him by law, has instructed agents everywhere to strike from the free-ration rolls all able-bodied Indians and provide them with work. Naturally, this rule has caused much dissatisfaction, especially in those tribes which had treaties with the Government guaranteeing to them certain food supplies in perpetuity; but the Commissioner has held fast to his purpose, on the theory that a sound interpretation of both the treaties and the general statutes justified him in attaching terms to his distribution of good things.

The committee's demand that the severalty act be put into operation wherever practicable, might be met by the statement that this change, or something corresponding to it, is also in progress at so rapid a rate that probably before another ten years have passed there will not be a closed reservation in the United States. The general severalty law, which gave a wholesome impetus to the movement for individual land-ownership, has of late been superseded to a considerable extent by special legislation adapted to the varying conditions of different tribes. The general law, for example, provides for the allotment of eighty acres to each member of a tribe where the land is recognized as agricultural, but 160 acres where it is fit only for grazing; but in a large part of the frontier West it has proved difficult to classify the land satisfactorily. There are districts in Oklahoma where an active controversy still rages over the question whether they are best adapted for raising wheat or grazing cattle. In places where wheat seems to have gained the day, it is still regarded as dubious whether, in view of exposeure to floods or droughts five years out of ten, the intent of the law would not be nullified unless a double crop could be raised in the fruitful years to make up for the failures in the barren years. In the colder parts of Montana a doubt whether, even with irrigation, anything except hay can be grown, raises the further question whether a hay country is not, after all, only a stock-raising country, and therefore, in fairness, to be governed by the same allotment rule as grazing land.

These few examples will suffice to show the intricacies besetting a subject which seems simple enough on its face, and will explain why the Executive has in so many cases deferred to Congress in the application of the severalty system. Another reason may be found in the fact that the opening of the unallotted Indian lands to white settlement is not an executive but a legislative function, and the only part the Executive takes in the matter is the protection of the Indians by insisting that Congress shall put a fair price upon the opened lands. One of the hardest of recent struggles between these two branches of the Government occurred over the opening of the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, made memorable by the riots at Bonesteel last July. When this subject was before Congress, most of the South Dakota delegation stood out for a low price per acre, to be offered as an inducement to the immigration of white settlers; and the President would have been defeated in his fight for fair treatment of the Indians if he had not made it plain that he would veto the whole bill unless this item were satisfactorily adjusted.

Public utterances like those of the Bar Association's committee are an encouraging sign that the intelligence of the American people is coming to the aid of their interest, and their generally right purpose, with regard to the Indians. While it is true that after a long period of sluggishness the Government is waking up to its duty, no harm can come from an active application of the moral prod by just such hands as are now wielding it.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

DUBLIN, September, 1904.

It is a year since the last Irish Land Act passed. Its main object was to induce landlords to sell their entire estates and so close the interminable struggle between them and their tenants. Chief Secretary

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Wyndham's bill was considerably modified in passing through Parliament, but only in details. The act provides that a landlord selling his entire estate shall be paid the price agreed on between him and his tenants in cash, instead of as heretofore in 2¾ per cent. stock. In addition to the price, the seller is to get a bonus of 12 per cent. on the price, to be relieved of legal fees and stamp duties, and enabled to borrow at the rate of 2¾ per cent. on the security of his residence and demesne. New machinery was created for the more rapid distribution of the purchase money among sellers and their mortgagees, and three "estates commissioners" were specially appointed to carry out the sale provisions of the act, under which the Chief Secretary anticipated that almost the whole of the tenanted land in Ireland might be transferred to the occupiers within fifteen or twenty years.

Tenant purchasers are to repay the prices agreed by an annuity for sixty-nine years at the rate of 3¼ per cent., interest being at 2¾ per cent., and the sinking fund at ½ per cent. Hitherto, repayment has been made by a 4 per cent. annuity for forty-two years, interest being at 2¾ and the sinking fund at 1¼ per cent. From an arithmetical standpoint an annuity of 4 per cent. for forty-two years is of the same capital value as 3¼ per cent. for sixty-nine years, interest in both cases being at 2¾ per cent. While the annual payment is at a lower rate, the risk of non-payment is spread over a longer term, and the effect of the longer term is to increase largely the amount of interest paid. Thus, a borrower of £100 will in sixty-nine years have to pay £189 as interest, and £35 as sinking fund, while at the same rate of interest in forty-two years he would have paid as interest £116, and as sinking fund £52.

The money for this transaction is raised by the issue of stock in England bearing 2¾ per cent. interest, and repayable at par in thirty years. The loss to the Imperial Exchequer, the bonus to sellers, and any loss from default in repayment are to be debited to and charged against Irish funds; that is to say, the expenditure hitherto claimed to be necessary for police is to be diminished. The grants for local purposes—education, poor relief, and the like, equivalent to those made in the rest of the United Kingdom—are to be pledged for and indented on to cover any loss in this transaction, which it is estimated will cost in the whole about 120 millions sterling. Losses include that arising from the issue of the stock, which at present is at a discount of 10 per cent.

Under former acts it was the special duty of the lending authority to refuse loans unless the security for each advance was deemed adequate, but under the present act the estates commissioners must, for most classes of farms and within certain limits of price, lend without any inquiry into the sufficiency of the security. Thus there is no check on improvident buyers, or on those whom impending eviction for arrears of rent has placed at the mercy of the selling landlord. In such cases default in payment is likely to occur, and as the whole local taxation is liable to make good any losses from non-payment, or delay in repayment, the bargains made between landlords and tenants are a matter of vital concern to the whole body of ratepayers. The local councils, however, who are the guarantors in the last resort for repayment to the Treasury, are not allowed any voice in the matter. As long as loss from default fell directly on the British Treasury, it was considered of the first importance that the security for every loan should be strictly scrutinized; but when Irish local rates were fully hypothecated, all precautions were withdrawn.

The act is working well from the sellers' point of view. Under former acts sales were made at the rate of less than two million pounds' worth in each year, at prices averaging less than eighteen years' purchase of the rents. But during the last nine months the estates commissioners have received agreements to the amount of ten million pounds, at prices averaging twenty-two years' purchase of the rent. In addition to this price, selling landlords get the bonus and exemption from stamp duties and other legal expenses, so that it appears that landlords can now sell at prices equivalent to 40 per cent. more than former current rates, and, under this inducement, are selling about six times as fast as they did before 1903. Tenant purchasers appear willing, in order to secure an immediate reduction in their annual payments, to agree to prices 22 per cent. higher than before without any reference to the additional burden that will fall on them as ratepayers to provide the bonus and make up the losses arising from the issue of stock at a discount, and possible default in repayment by some of the tenant purchasers. It was supposed that, in consideration of the bonus and other advantages, landlords who had been anxious to sell at current rates would abate the prices they were asking, and that tenants would rush in and buy. What has happened is, that landlords have claimed that, as the repayment instalments are now at a lower rate, though for a longer term, the tenants can afford to pay a larger price, and so far they have induced the tenants to do so.

A good illustration of what is going on all over the country came under my notice last week. A large estate in Kerry was sold three years ago for eighteen years' purchase of the rents. The landlord was paid in stock worth 90, so that he got a little more than sixteen years' purchase in cash. I noticed on this estate new buildings and reclamation of waste land, which the owners said they could now make with safety. Adjoining this estate, another extensive tract of poor land, said to be held at higher rents, was sold within the last month to the tenants, who agreed to give twenty-three years' purchase of their rents, the landlord getting, in addition, the bonus and the other incidental advantages which I have mentioned. Thus, on adjoining estates of similar quality, the first landlord got for a £10 rent £165; the second landlord got £260.

On the whole, the Land Act of 1903 is resulting in a very large number of estates being sold, but at prices so high, at rates so far in excess of those which have hitherto prevailed, that repayment of their loans by the tenant purchasers may be doubtful. The restriction of expenditure on education, poor relief, and development of the local resources of the country, is a serious burden on ratepayers, and, as landlords are practically exempted from all local rates on their tenanted estates, and with few exceptions take no part in the management of the educational system, or in the ordinary local business dealing with roads, bridges, and local improvements, they pay no attention to the burden on the rates which has been imposed in their interest. Eight years ago a royal commission reported that Ireland was overtaxed in proportion to Great Britain to the amount of nearly three millions sterling a year. Since then as much more has been added to the burden of taxation on the continually diminishing population of Ireland, and this falls mainly on the poorest classes. The additional duty placed on tea this year means not less than £400,000, to be paid mainly by the poorest classes.

The Government of Ireland is still as wasteful, extravagant, and inefficient as ever. Ireland lags behind the rest of the world in education and the development of its internal resources. For forty years successive governments have promised to establish a system of university education which would suit the needs of the country and be acceptable to the people. To obtain votes, to conciliate the Catholic hierarchy, they have held out hopes and given promises without stint, but nothing has been done. The system of primary education is administered by an unrepresentative, irresponsible board of seventeen members, appointed for political reasons, but never on the grounds of any special knowledge of their duties. They hold secret meetings, give no information as to their proceedings, and are unaccountable to Parliament or to the public. The history, poetry, and language of Ireland have been practically excluded from their programme. Owing to the growing influence of the Gaelic League, the Irish language is now unwillingly permitted to be taught. Drawing has been introduced only within the last three years. The "national" system of education has been one of the most potent instruments of the Anglicization of Ireland. "You speak Irish; how is it your children can't speak it?" I said to a woman lately. "They wouldn't be allowed to use it in school, so we checked them using it at home," was her reply. When the home language is not the vehicle of education, what an obstacle exists in the way of imparting knowledge!

The defects, extravagance, and inefficiency of the present system of education are fully admitted, but as every change requires legislation at Westminster, nothing is or is likely to be done. A movement attracting more attention in England than in Ireland is that of the Irish Reform Association, a self-constituted committee of landlords under the presidency of Lord Dunraven. This body has put forward a programme held by some to be a manifesto in the direction of Home Rule, by others intended to anticipate and minimize legislation in that direction which the balance of parties after a general election may make inevitable. This committee advocates a devolution to Ireland of a larger measure of local government; it considers the present system of financial administration wasteful and inappreciative of the needs of the country—that a system of Irish finance could be devised whereby the expenditure could be conducted in a more efficient and economic manner; that "private"-bill legislation should be conducted in Ireland; that the whole system of education requires remodelling and coördination; that the settle-

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ment of the question of higher education is urgently needed; that the better housing of the laboring classes is of the utmost importance. And they announce that they will coöperate in any practicable proposals having the betterment of this class in view.

These are brave words. The English Conservative press denounces the Committee as traitors to the Unionist cause, tampering with the accursed thing, Home Rule; while the Liberal press commend the manifesto as a sign of reasonableness at last among Irish landlords. In Ireland the manifesto is looked upon as an astute move made for the purpose of detaching weak Nationalists from the Home Rule party, attracting those Unionists who see that their party can no longer maintain its irreconcilable position, and attempting to regain some of the political power which the landlords are losing by capturing the laborers' vote. I am inclined to think that this committee is, in a sense, in earnest. They and many others of their class would be in favor of Home Rule if they could be certain that they would be the Home Rulers. Having, during the rule of the Unionists, obtained enormous plunder out of the public purse, by exemption from their share of local taxation, by the reduction of their liabilities to the Exchequer in tithes and quitrents, and, finally, under the last Land Act, having secured, actually or potentially, prices for their estates, at the cost of the public, which exceeded their wildest hopes as much as they exceeded the price of a falling and discredited security, the landlords may be satisfied that there is no more to be got out of the public purse. That they are in favor of popular government, or of the Irish people as a whole (through their representatives) being responsible for their own expenditure and the taxation which that expenditure requires, I do not think.

Their professions of regard for the better housing of the laboring classes may be judged by their performances. The Irish small farmers and laborers were the worst-housed peasantry in Europe, and their houses belonged in law to the landlords. Several Laborers Acts have been passed during the last fifteen years to enable local governing bodies to build suitable cottages with small plots of land attached, to do what in England is considered the duty of the landowner. As a rule, the landlord party have opposed all legislation which involved the compulsory acquisition of sites. By continual appeals against the action of the district councils they have added largely to the expense, which fell almost entirely on the tenant ratepayers. As an example of this: In a southern town, lately visited, which with the whole surrounding district belongs to a wealthy owner who, within the last thirty years, built a new residence for himself at a cost of £100,000, the Council sought to acquire two acres for artisans' dwellings. The landlord opposed them, with the result that the legal and parliamentary costs of acquiring the two acres for which the landlord asked £900 amounted to £300. The price then remained to be fixed by a Government arbitrator.

As to the financial relations of Ireland and England, the party represented by Lord Dunraven's Committee taught the country a lesson eight years ago. They formed a Committee, invited and got the coöperation of the Nationalists, and made fiery speeches in Ireland; Lord Castletown holding up the example of the Boston citizens in relation to the tea duty as a pattern for Irishmen. But, invited to repeat what he had said in the House of Lords, he toned down and explained away his speech, wrote apologetic letters to the *Times;* and as soon as Parliament had exempted the landlords from their share of local taxation, the Committee melted away and has never been heard of since. It remains to be seen whether the Nationalists who were then made a cat's-paw of, will associate themselves with Lord Dunraven's new Committee. Their best course would be to commend the new departure of the landlords, but to let them work out their programme alone, giving Parliamentary support when the occasion arises.

AN IRISHMAN.

MORE ABOUT FOUCHÉ.

PARIS, September 25, 1904.

I mentioned, not long ago, and analyzed the work published by M. Louis Madelin on the famous Fouché, Duke of Otranto. It seemed as if the matter were exhausted by this author's compendious and conscientious volumes. M. G. Lenotre, whose studies on the Revolutionary period are so remarkable, has, however, added a curious chapter to M. Madelin's history—a chapter especially devoted to Fouché's married life and to Madame Fouché. This reads at times like a novel and at times like a drama. M. Lenotre is a psychologist as well as a historian; he gives intense life to the subjects which he treats. We would not, however, encourage him to bring his favorite subjects on the stage, as he has recently done; the stage requires arrangement, artificiality, and often inexactitude, and M. Lenotre's chief merit as an historian is absolute fidelity to the truth.

At the time of the diligences, long before the time of railways, the provincial traveller arrived in the Court of the Messageries, Rue Notre-Dame des Victoires. There he found porters who took possession of his luggage and carried it, often on their backs, to the place which the traveller had assigned to him. It was in this modest way that, in the last days of September, 1792, Joseph Fouché, chosen Deputy by the electors of the Loire-Inférieure, arrived in Paris. He brought with him his wife, Bonne Jeanne, whom he had married only ten days before. She was twenty-eight years old; she was plain, red-haired—what the French call a decided *laideron*. His father was president of the administration of the district of Nantes. It has been said, wrongly, that Jeanne had belonged to a religious order; nothing is known of her infancy or her education. She lived in the shade even after her husband had risen to eminence. Husband and wife took an apartment in the third story of those narrow houses in the Rue Saint-Honoré, near the church of Saint-Roch, many of which still exist. Fouché knew the quarter well, as he had often passed through Paris at the time when he was an Oratorian. The house had the advantage of not being far from the Assembly, which sat at the Manège, near the Tuileries.

Fouché went regularly to the Chamber, but spent all the rest of his time at home with his wife, who was in the family way. Nothing interested her but her household and her husband, judging everything he said or did excellent, sharing all his successive opinions, not from indolence of mind, but from love of him. This piously educated Bretonne is not astonished when, feeling the wind, Fouché writes in his 'Reflections on Public Education,' "All religion belittles and degrades man." She is no more moved when, after the sitting, he comes to announce to her that he has voted for the King's death, and that the King will be condemned. He is sent on a mission, and she joins him, though on the eve of her confinement. They go to Champagne, to Burgundy, to Nevers. On the 10th of August, at Nevers, on the anniversary of the abolition of royalty, she gives birth to a child, and the city celebrates the event. "The National Guard is under arms, the child is shown to the people; a procession is formed in the Place de la Fédération, where the guillotine is erected." At the altar of the Fatherland, a *citoyen* and a *citoyenne* preside over the civic baptism; the child receives the name of Nièvre. "Thus the Proconsul associated his wife with his glory. He loved her tenderly, consulted her often, gave her an intimate place in his life." "She is a model of her sex," wrote he. Of a very pure life, he remained the faithful husband, the constant and devoted friend, in the first years of the marriage. Notwithstanding the horrible ugliness of Bonne Jeanne, he is in love like a shepherd of Florian, and wants people to know it. M. Lenotre gives curious descriptions of feasts [illegible] the Proconsul gave as Brutus, in which the execution of criminals alternates with mythological scenes, and in which he is himself dressed as a "priest of nature," with a crown of fruits.

Fouché finds himself so happy in his married life that he abolishes, with a stroke of his pen, ecclesiastical celibacy, and forces every priest "to get married in the course of a month or to adopt a child." He has many occupations; he drains the country of all ecclesiastical ornaments and sends them to Paris. He goes to Lyons on the 10th of November, with his wife and the little Nièvre; he finds there Collot, and proceeds at once with him to the pillage of the churches. "On the 4th of December sixty-four young men are, in his presence, killed with cannon-shot; on the 15th, two hundred and nine fall victims of the mitraille on the Place des Brotteaux; and in the evening Fouché returns serenely home, embraces his wife, inquires for his little child, a sickly infant, whose health constantly made its parents uneasy. He wrote in his fine, nervous, and rapid hand to his colleagues in the Convention those famous letters which are monuments of ferocity and sanguinary delirium: "Tears of joy fill my eyes, they fill my soul. . . . We sent to-night two hundred and thirteen rebels under fire." Bonne Jeanne, the only person whom he consulted, probably read these reports, but she approved everything he did. He quitted her very little. They would walk arm in arm through the city paralyzed with horror, and sometimes went as far as the Place des Brotteaux.

An Oratorian, a friend at the Seminary of Nantes, Father Mollet, one day asked Fouché to help him escape, as his life was threatened. As it was the hour of their promenade, Fouché took him with him and his wife. At the Brotteaux, before the trees which had been splintered by the

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mitraille, Mollet nearly fainted." Bonne Jeanne, who walked "with as much impassibility as if she had been in a garden full of roses, was amazed at the emotion of their companion. Fouché shrugged his shoulders. 'Let him make his grimaces and don't talk to him,' said he to his wife." We must add that he gave a passport to Mollet, and thus saved his life. The complete Fouché is in this anecdote.

Barras tells us in his Memoirs that Madame Fouché left Lyons a few days before her husband, in a coach which broke down in the suburb of Vaise, and that this accident revealed a large quantity of packages, her plunder of Lyons. There was, however, no change on their return, in 1794, to the Rue Saint-Honoré. The Fouchés had even debts; the child was ill. Robespierre, who had become a sort of demigod, was so hostile to Fouché that he had to hide from place to place. For ten days he felt, as M. Lenotre says, under the knife of the guillotine. Curiously enough, during these very days he used to meet, under the trees in the Champs-Élysées, Robespierre's sister. What could there be between them? Did she not know that he was married? Did she hope to marry him? We have here, says M. Lenotre, one of those mysterious comedies which abound in the history of the Revolution. What is certain is, that long afterwards Fouché, as Duke of Otranto, gave a small pension to Robespierre's sister.

Fouché succeeded in not becoming a victim of Robespierre, but he was hated by those who triumphed in Thermidor; he was looked upon as one of the most sanguinary tyrants of the Terror, with Carrier and Lebon. His child died at that time, and his wife could not be consoled. He soon had another child, as sickly as the first. After the dissolution of the Convention, he entered into partnership with another member of that body, and undertook to feed and sell pigs. The speculation was not fortunate; he found himself ruined, and on the 31st of December he exiled himself to Saint-Leu, in the valley of Montmorency, where he had a third child, but the children died one after the other.

In 1797 a change of fortune took place; Fouché became an army contractor, and soon afterwards was named Legate of the Directory at Milan. He made the journey to Italy with his wife, who had there a fourth child. From Milan, he was sent to The Hague, as Ambassador. Madame Fouché was not intoxicated by her new grandeur, and remained quite effaced. "One would believe," says M. Lenotre, "that Madame Fouché was unintelligent or apathetic, if one did not know that she was half in all the works of her husband, that she shared all his secrets, that she advised him, that she had constant influence over him." They both had but one desire—to found a family and to enrich it. Everything was subordinated to that sentiment; even ambition seemed only a means to satisfy it. They devoted themselves to their object with a haste which looks like eagerness, as on the day when, leaving the Legation of Milan, they took away, as a memorial of their ephemeral piece of luck, the carriage, the horses, the linen, and a number of things belonging to the Embassy.

We find Fouché always the same in his conjugal relations; he does not care, when he becomes omnipotent, if Paris laughs at his affection for his "laideron." In 1803 he has four children, all in good health; he lives with Madame Fouché in the Hôtel de Juigné, on the Quai Malaquais, which has become the Hôtel of the General Police, the formidable centre of a police which covers the whole of France and the whole of Europe. There Fouché receives every day the reports of his agents, spies, former Terrorists, Chouans, ladies of the world, prostitutes, etc. Fouché organizes this terrible machine; he is all-powerful. He is very rich, and has great domains in France and in Italy. But his domestic life is still modest; when he does not wear his rich uniform, he is dressed like the meanest of the clerks of his ministers. He spends all his evenings with his family when he is not obliged to go to Court.

"The Duchess," says M. Lenotre, "does not consent to leave her children. An old relation, the governess of her daughter, a person of wit and of good manners, some old Oratorians, Fouché's secretary, the preceptor of his sons, are the only guests. They find amusement in a game of cards. Joseph, Armand, Athanase and Josephine run about the room. This man of ice, whom the portraits show us with a terrific pallor, with white lips, colorless hair and eyebrows, and the impassibility of a ghost—this man is gay at home, full of fun, an incessant talker. He goes to bed at ten, like his wife and children; all five sleep in the same room. Bonne Jeanne instituted this régime; she is as jealous of her husband as if he were twenty years old."

He is himself perfectly satisfied; he does not conceal the fact that he loves his wife, and praises to everybody "her enlightened mind and her rare virtues." Bonne Jeanne has become very pious; she receives the Cardinal de Belloy, the Archbishop of Paris. Fouché proclaims that he owes everything "to his remembrance of the morals of the Gospel." At Ferrières, where Fouché retired during the disgrace which followed the Russian campaign, Madame Fouché fell ill; she died there on the 9th of October, 1813, at the age of forty-eight years. "I am much to be pitied," wrote Fouché, "since I have had the misfortune to lose the companion of my life; my work, my books, my walks, my sleep—everything was in common with her." It did not prevent him from getting married, three years afterwards, to Gabrielle de Castellane, and Louis XVIII., forgetful of Louis XVI., signed the marriage contract.

Correspondence.

NON TALI AUXILIO.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Is not this sermon rather severe on our President?—Yours truly,

Edwin Brainard.

Chicago, September 27, 1904.

Rev. F. E. Hopkins.

[Pilgrim Congregational Church.]

In our city we have had nearly a hundred insurrections in the past eight months, called strikes. And employer and employee still regard each other in a way that invites more of the same sort. We know there are at least ten thousand hungry persons in this town as a result of eight weeks' war at the stockyards. We know that in our hearts we are glad we humbled Spain, gobbled up Porto Rico, hold the whiplash over Cuba, mean to "develop" the Philippines, *and that millions of men hope to elect as our next President a man who climbed to his present eminence on what somebody has called a "ladder of swords."* For all these reasons we discreetly held our tongues when the peace advocates were in Chicago. We permitted the international delegates to find their own enjoyment; and, whether we were polite of not, we were something a great deal more important—we were not hypocrites. It was a great thing for a big city, even unintentionally, to say, We have no sympathy with vague ideas and false definitions of peace.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE IN GERMANY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Only a few years ago, who would have believed that in Germany a total-abstinence movement would gain ground so as to attract general attention; that it would make headway against universal and inveterate habit, against ignorance, prejudice, and the love of beer? And yet all this has taken place, and is in progress.

The present agitation against the use of intoxicating drinks has some remarkable features of its own, differing, as it does, very much from the temperance movement here some sixty years ago, and also from the more recent temperance agitation in England and America. In the latter instances it was chiefly the religious, moral, and economic aspects of the drink question which furnished the weapons to combat it, whereas at present in Germany the chief reliance is placed upon the results of scientific investigation concerning the effects of the alcoholic beverages. It may interest the American reader to learn how a beer-drinking nation takes to total abstinence, and what prospects there may be for the cause of temperance in a country where the drink habit permeates all classes of society, and where all social intercourse is associated with the use of wine or beer.

The present movement against the use of alcoholic beverages is of recent date, as appears from what Professor Bunge of Basel says, namely, that as late as 1888 he was the only man within the wide range of the German language who publicly came forward for total abstinence. And Professor Forel, another one of the great leaders of the cause, says that when, in 1887, he urged that, in accordance with English practice, alcoholism should be treated by total abstinence, he was laughed at and railed at, for in Germany and Switzerland alcoholism was treated by alcohol! The force of social usages when in conflict with the unwelcome truth of the harmfulness of alcoholic beverages is strikingly shown by the experience of Prof. A. Fick of Würzburg, as *told by his son, Prof. Rudolph Fick of* Leipzig, saying that his father, who died in 1891, and who was opposed to the use of alcoholics, did not during his lifetime see any progress of the cause of abstinence worth mentioning, but that he was made to suffer almost daily for his opinion and his practice of abstinence by ridicule and other tribulations.

When, through the efforts of Professors Bunge and Forel, and a few others, the cause of abstinence at last attracted some attention, Professor Kraepelin of Heidelberg in 1892 undertook a series of experiments for the purpose of ascertaining the effect of alcohol upon the simpler operations of the mind, in the hope, as he con-

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fesses, of saving something of the reputation of wine and beer. These experiments, which were afterwards extended by some younger men under the direction of Professor Kraepelin, have attracted a good deal of attention, and their results are a storehouse of material for combating the defenders of the moderate glass. They show, of course (what seemed at the time surprising), that the sensation of increased vigor and alertness after drinking a moderate quantity of wine or beer is altogether a delusion; that, on the contrary, the powers of body and mind are diminished by these beverages. More astonishing still, the enfeebling effect persists much longer than was suspected. Thus, Aschaffenburg, experimenting with typesetters, ascertained that when these men had drunk half a bottle of wine each, they were under the delusion of increased vigor and capacity for work, while they actually did inferior work. This disturbing influence was still quite distinct on the following day, so that a second day of abstinence was necessary to bring the men up again to their own standard of efficiency.

A flood of other material was supplied: the greater mortality of the moderate drinker as compared with the abstainer, his greater tendency to mental disorder and to crime. But, alas! how great is the power of habit, how deaf are those who will not hear! Though proof abundant is now at hand that alcoholic beverages injure the health, blunt the understanding, poison the soul, yet those who should before all others take heed—the students at the universities and those who once were students—refuse (with rare exceptions) to be warned. The churches are indifferent or unfriendly to the cause of abstinence; physicians stand aloof, nay, continue to prescribe wine as an invigorating drink to convalescents.

There is, however, a more hopeful side to this matter. The cause of abstinence is making vigorous progress among the laboring classes, who in increasing numbers are joining the order of Good Templars which came to us from England. We have among the laborers and artisans many men enthusiastic for the cause of abstinence. They are rapidly gaining new members from among their numbers. In method of work the German Good Templars differ widely from their English brethren, for whereas in England the churches are active promoters of the cause of abstinence, and the whole mode of agitation has a clerical aspect, and much is made of the Bible as an aid, nothing of the kind takes place in Germany. The pamphlets here used for agitation are short treatises on the effects of alcohol written by such men as Bunge, Forel, and Kraepelin, besides many other writers, all of whom adopt the scientific or physiological aspect. These little tracts, while showing the deleterious effect of drink upon the drinker and his family, do not omit to call attention to the baneful effects of inheritance. Kraepelin and Bunge insist that he who thus poisons the germs of the coming generation commits a criminal act.

The Good Templars have by this time gained a firm hold in the province of Schleswig-Holstein, and in the cities of Hamburg and Bremen. Gradually they are making their way into other portions of the Empire. Thus we have the singular spectacle of an effort among the humbler classes for deliverance from a social vice which afflicts the whole nation, while Church and school stand by indifferent; an effort among the lowly to regain health and vigor, while physicians look on inactive; a struggle to purify family life, to regenerate the nation, in which Church and State take no part.

Respectfully, WERNER A. STILLE.

HANOVER, GERMANY, September 22, 1904.

CHANCELLOR NESSELRODE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to correct a statement in your issue of September 8, 1904, page 195, in the Paris letter on "The Nesselrode Papers." Instead of: "He [Chancellor Nesselrode] lived ninety years, and died as recently as 1850," must be read: "He lived eighty-two years, and died as recently as 1862." C. B. OSTEN SACKEN.

Late Consul-General of Russia in New York.

HEIDELBERG, GERMANY, September 20, 1904.

AN INQUIRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To the second edition of his Ecclesiastical Sonnets Wordsworth prefixed the following lines:

"A verse may catch a wandering soul that flies
Profounder Tracts, and by a blest surprise
Convert delight into a sacrifice."

From what source did Wordsworth derive these lines? Professor Dowden says from George Herbert; Professor Knight, more cautious, bids us compare them with Herbert. The fifth and sixth lines of Herbert's "Church Porch" read thus:

"A verse may find him who a sermon flies,
And turn delight into a sacrifice."

It was common enough for the poets of the seventeenth century to seize a good bit of verse wherever they found it and to rewrite it for their own purpose. In several instances Herbert so rewrote Donne; and Herbert was himself constantly rewritten by Harvey and Vaughan, and to a less extent by Crashaw and Speed. But who carried him up to these "Profounder Tracts" which pleased Wordsworth? I am unable to discover. Can any of your readers inform me?—Very truly yours,

G. H. PALMER.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, October 3, 1904.

Notes.

The Clarendon Press are to publish for the executors of the late Prof. Frederick York Powell a selection of his shorter and dispersed writings, with a prefatory memoir. The loan of letters and papers contributory to this end is solicited by Prof. J. A. Stewart, Christ Church, Oxford.

For the preparation of a second edition of his official catalogue of Whistler's Lithographs, Mr. T. R. Way will be glad to communicate with owners of lithographs undescribed in the first, through his publishers, Messrs. George Bell & Sons, Portugal Street, London, W. C.

While Mr. James Bryce is visiting this country, Macmillan Company are putting to press a rewritten and enlarged edition of his 'Holy Roman Empire.'

Henry Frowde announces an exact facsimile of the original English edition of Grimm's Tales, with Cruikshank's illustrations to the 1823 and 1826 editions, printed from the original plates. Only 240 copies will be for sale.

Harper & Brothers have nearly ready 'Theophano: The Crusade of the Tenth Century,' by Frederick Harrison; 'A Journey in Search of Christmas,' by Owen Wister; 'The Luxury of Children, and Some Other Luxuries,' by Edward S. Martin; and 'True Bills,' by George Ade.

Baker & Taylor's fall list includes 'The Art of Caricature,' a manual, by Grant Wright; 'The Appreciation of Sculpture,' by Russell Sturgis; and 'The Episcopalians,' by Daniel D. Addison, D.D. (in "The Story of the Churches").

A. S. Barnes & Co. are to undertake a new literary series "In the Days of ——" (Chaucer, and Shakspere, by Tudor Jenks, with more undesignated). Mr. Mabie will furnish introductions.

Brentano's will shortly bring out 'Visits to the Louvre,' by Dr. Arthur Mahler, in collaboration with Carlos Blacker and W. A. Slater, sumptuously illustrated.

'Three Weeks in Europe, or the Vacation of a Busy Man,' by John U. Higinbotham, is announced by Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago.

The American Unitarian Association, Boston, will republish the Works of Channing in six volumes, with an introduction by the Rev. John W. Chadwick; and 'Tides of the Spirit,' selections from the writings of James Martineau, edited by Albert Lazenby.

Little, Brown & Co. announce a new work on the Law of Evidence by Prof. John H. Wigmore of Northwestern University.

The old Roman border fort, the Saalburg, in the Taunus Mountains, is to be described in the light of excavations and restorations, by Jacobi, Woltze, and Schulze, with abundant illustrations, some in color. The publisher is F. A. Perthes in Gotha (New York: Lemcke & Buechner).

An English book of 'Selected Cases on the Law of Torts' is published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford (New York: Henry Frowde). The authors are Francis R. Y. Radcliffe and J. C. Miles, and they have rewritten the headnotes of all the cases "so as to state the principle established" rather than "the application of that principle to a particular set of facts." The other notes are mainly "explanatory or supplemental"; in two or three instances they present a statement of the existing law. The cases themselves are abridgments from the original reports. Some authorities lend themselves to this sort of treatment better than others. It should be said that the book is designed chiefly for teachers of law in England.

The third volume of the Hon. John Boyd Thacher's 'Christopher Columbus' (G. P. Putnam's Sons) contains six chapters, with forty-one reproductions of alleged portraits, on the personal appearance of Columbus; two chapters on his handwriting; twenty on the history of his remains since their first burial; and seven on the various families claiming legitimate descent from the discoverer. As in the preceding volumes, the most valuable feature consists of facsimiles of Columbian material, including a series of copies of photographs of all the letters and other unquestioned autographs known to be extant, forty-two in number, with transcriptions and trans-

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lations. Throughout, the author's contributions evidence the same critical and historical insight, the same literary and linguistic capacity which marked the previous volumes.

Some forty years ago the Rev. Oswald Cockayne issued, as part of the Master of the Rolls Series, three stout volumes entitled 'Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England,' containing a collection of Anglo-Saxon medical treatises. Dr. Joseph Frank Payne, in the Fitz-Patrick Lectures for 1903, made use of the material thus furnished and has issued the results under the title of 'English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde), with some illustrations of medicinal plants drawn from an illuminated MS. of the 'Herbarium Apuleii Platonici,' an Anglo-Saxon version of which forms part of the Cockayne collection. Dr. Payne has endeavored, with more or less success, to trace the derivation of the curative lore of our ancestors to the sources, whether indigenous or derived from the works and traditions of the great Græco-Roman medical school, and he pays a tribute to Anglo-Saxon botanical zeal in the fact that the MSS. furnish about five hundred English plant-names of herbs used medicinally. The illustrations curiously manifest how crude were the ideas of the artists with regard to vegetable forms. The most interesting are a series representing the mandrake, and showing how the resemblance of the root to a human body developed into the conception of a complete man with a crown of leaves growing from the top of his head. All of them show a dog attached and tugging at it, this being the time-honored method of gathering it, on account of the superstition that whoever pulled up a mandrake root would shortly perish.

The seventh edition of a well-known handbook hardly needs a special review. Fifty years ago, the Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope, the present University Teacher of Tamil and Telugu at Oxford, aided by the superintendent of the American Mission Press, published the 'Tamil Handbook,' since prescribed for civilians appointed to Madras. Half a century of improvements, incorporating the result of twenty years' active teaching, has produced a "final edition" of 'The Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde). If the venerable author is spared to see his final edition become a penultimate edition, he may still perfect perfection by suppressing here and there what seems like a vain repetition, such as the paragraph on the *aytham* found on page 13 and almost duplicated on page 22. But it is sufficient to say that of the half-dozen Tamil handbooks in existence this is, as it has been, the best; the latest edition having utilized Bühler's 'Indische Palaeographie' for historical statements in regard to the history of the alphabet, while the practical need of the student is always before the author's eye. A good point is that all the examples are drawn from the actual literature, not made up to illustrate a rule.

Dr. Sven Hedin contributes to *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, No. 7, what will be substantially the preface to the forthcoming volumes containing the scientific facts of his last journey. As bringing out strongly the personality of the great traveller it has an unusual interest. The work will consist of eight volumes, to be published in 1906. The edition is limited to 250 copies, price £15. The first two subscribers were the Japanese Count Otani, and the Geographical Society in Tokyo. His own narrative will consist of four volumes of 2,000 pages instead of one as he at first planned. Taking the form of a diary, it will be practically notes explanatory of his 1,149 maps, or, in his own words, "a topographical, morphological, hydrographical, and orographical description of the land through which I travelled." The English translation is by J. T. Bealby, the translator of his previous books. Dr. Sven Hedin regrets the meagreness of his contributions to some important branches of science, from the lack of a scientific staff, and adds, "but I have the peculiarity of loving to be alone, and hence on my travels have always been alone." After a reference to Newton's (attributed by Hedin to Mommsen) comparison of himself to a boy playing on the seashore, he says: "How shall I call myself then?—a child who has never looked on the far horizon of this immeasurable ocean, and whose glance has never swept over its blue mirror, to say nothing of playing with pebbles on the strand. Yet the experiences and observations which I have made in the toilsome wanderings to that wondrous shore, I give to the students of geographical research, in the hope that my work has not been wholly in vain."

An interesting memorial of the days when the Jesuit missionaries formed an influential link between the learning of Western Europe and that of China is reproduced, in reduced facsimile, in the eighth volume of the 'Skrifter utgifna af Kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala' (Leipzig: Harrassowitz). It is a six-foot map of the world, in two hemispheres, drawn by P. Ferdinand Verbiest, a Jesuit father who, born in Flanders in 1623, went to China in 1659 and died there twenty-nine years later. In 1671 Verbiest is said to have been appointed royal astronomer to the Emperor Kang-Hsih. His map, evidently drawn some years after this appointment, shows that he must have obtained from Europe several of the best-known contemporary geographical publications. The representation of "The Middle Kingdom," which is given the position demanded by its name, is of course the most important portion of the map. The facsimile, although too small to show the details necessary for careful study, gives quite enough to prove the extent and the accuracy of the geographical information in the possession of the Chinese rulers regarding all their outlying dependencies.

The Northern Museum in Stockholm has just sent out its annual report (*Meddelanden*) for 1902(!). The most interesting acquisition of that year was Viktor Rydberg's library of about 3,000 volumes, and the furniture from his study, presented by his widow. By bequest of the painter, Prof. J. A. Malmström, the Museum received 650 sheets and 26 sketchbooks of original drawings, aquarelles, and oil paintings of buildings, costumes, and race types from Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Numerous pieces of household goods, peasant costumes, and furniture from all parts of Sweden have been added to the collections, as well as some fine specimens of artistic furniture from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and some old musical instruments, among them a clavichord made by Peter Kraft in 1801. Three new buildings have been put up at the outdoor museum "Skansen," certainly the most unique part of the whole establishment. Two of them are of particular interest, as illustrating the life of the Finnish population in northern and middle Sweden; one is a dwelling, the other a combined dwelling, steam bathhouse, and grain kiln. A descriptive catalogue of the historico-ethnographical collections at "Skansen" was begun during the year; when completed, it ought to be an important contribution to ethnographical literature. The Museum took part in the International Exposition of Military and Modern Costumes held in St. Petersburg; this necessitated the purchase of a large number of articles of costume, which was made possible through the munificence of Mr. Emanuel Nobel in St. Petersburg, a nephew of Alfred Nobel. The volume is quite fully illustrated, and contains in addition to the report proper three contributions: a Calendar of the parchment scrolls earlier in date than 1600, in the possession of the Museum; some notes on Legends and Superstitions among the Finnish settlements and in Lapland; and an illustrated study of the ornaments on various pieces of furniture and household goods made by an unknown wood-carver and carpenter from Ringebu in Norway.

—To be remarked in the October *Century* is a sensible discussion of the Trust problem by Prof. John B. Clark of Columbia University. He sees clearly two truths which all must come to see before any real progress can be made towards settling that problem, as a disturbing factor in modern political and industrial development—namely, that it is useless to fight against the mere fact of a much greater unification of similar business interests than we have known in the past, and, on the other hand, that such unification is sure to develop evils dangerous to society and the State in the absence of careful legal regulation. The natural laws of trade can be depended upon to interfere with the exaction of exorbitant prices when those prices reach a certain level; but that level is so high that the careful Trust manager can keep safely below it, and still wring from the consumer prices that are essentially oppressive and detrimental to the best interests of society as a whole. Professor Clark's positive counsel is to avoid quixotic efforts at "Trust-smashing," and centre attention carefully upon the points where the unfair exactions of these combinations are brought to bear, such as discriminations favoring the big shipper in railroad rates, cutthroat competition against the independent dealer in given localities or in given classes of goods, and "factor's agreements"—refusing to supply the local dealer with a given Trust-made article unless he binds himself not to buy a similar article from the independent manufacturer. With proper safeguards at these points, it is reasonably maintained that independent competition would meet the Trust at a much lower level of prices to the consumer than under present conditions, and to secure just this result must be the aim of any really practicable measures of relief.

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—Elizabeth Luther Cary essays in *Scribner's* what many would regard as the impossible task of establishing "Americanism" as the foremost among the salient qualities of the literary work of Henry James. Admitting the meagreness of his American experience and associations, the American character, she thinks, is portrayed in the majority of his many novels with remarkable sympathy and understanding. Her description of the characters resulting from this sympathetic insight is quite flattering. They appear against the foreign background provided for them in "an air of their own, a clear medium of innocence enriched by intelligence," and from this medium they shine forth "youthful, bright, incorruptible, confiding, expectant," remarkable in the depth of their temperamental refinement and their inability to think coarsely of their relations with their fellow-beings. With an intense thirst they bring this unsophisticated, receptive temperament to the deep wells of transatlantic civilization, expand and ripen with the draughts, and then return to us "rejoiced or sometimes chastened" (can they even gild refined gold or paint the lily over there?), "but singularly unspotted and unimpaired." Doubtless we should all be glad to have just as much as possible of such Americanism here at home; but after all it is the Americanism of Mr. James himself which is in question, and those who deny him this quality will scarcely feel themselves refuted when they find the writer admitting that he has exploited the land of his nativity chiefly "as a place from which to escape whole-hearted to the homes of traditions and symbols, of faint, fragrant messages from the past, and long-established institutions." Mr. F. A. Eaton, the Secretary, contributes the first of a series of illustrated papers on the Royal Academy.

—We have too long delayed noticing 'Diderot's Thoughts on Art and Style' (London: Rivingtons), selected and translated by Beatrix L. Tollemache—a second edition. Mrs. Tollemache seems to have done her work well, and the book should be welcomed as giving to English readers some notion of the ideas on art of the French critic who has attained one of the highest reputations. As one might gather from that critic's admiration for the worst pictures of Greuze (though he could see the faults of coloring in them), the reputation was founded on little real knowledge of or sympathy with painting. It was the accident of Grimm's asking him for some notes on the Salon that first turned his attention seriously to that art, and he always looked at it very much from the outside. He was a humanitarian, a philosopher, one of the preparers of the Revolution, and he preached Rousseau's "Return to Nature." Hence his love for Greuze's moralities (this artist's immoralities are much more painter-like), and hence his attacks on the academic in art, which sometimes give a deceptively modern air to his writings. In reality, he saw little beyond the subject and its treatment from an intellectual point of view, and he could write a formal article on "Composition" without mentioning the arrangement of lines or spaces. Often, in his "Salons," he dwells not even on the subjects of the pictures he is nominally discussing, but on anything that comes into his head which is not the picture. The most fumbling and awkward of the "conferences" of the old Academy show more real knowledge of the aims of art than was possessed by this brilliant writer. Strangely enough, the Revolution of which Diderot was a precursor, produced, in the school of David, an art the most rigidly academic that the world has ever seen.

—In a moderate-sized volume entitled 'Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson' (Henry Holt & Co.) Prof. Oscar Kuhns offers a somewhat sketchy study of the external traces of Dante's influence upon English verse. Although the author shows here, as in his previous literary investigations, evidence of scholarship and judgment, one cannot help regarding all the first half of the book as rather perfunctory and superficial. Certainly nothing is added by him to our knowledge, for instance, of Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante. Occasionally he even seems to overlook the essential feature of the passages he is discussing. In Longfellow's

"The ice about thy heart melts as the snow
On mountain heights, and in swift overflow
Comes gushing from thy lips in sobs of shame,"

as compared with the Italian:

"Lo gel che m' era intorno al cor ristretto
Spirito ed acqua fessi, e con angoscia
Per la bocca e per gli occhi uscì dal petto,"

the characteristic part of the figure is surely not, as Dr. Kuhns appears to imply, "melts as the snow on mountain heights," but "the ice about thy heart melts . . . and . . . comes gushing from thy lips in sobs of shame," which is obviously enough a translation of the words of the "Purgatorio." It may be noted in passing that Milton's episode of "the change of the fallen angels to snakes" is far closer to the "Inferno" than to Ovid; while, on the other hand, many of the parallel passages cited on pages 101-104 have little or nothing in common. It is not until we reach the nineteenth-century writers, who occupy about half of the book, that we find the author independent enough to be thoroughly interesting. This part of the work, which is evidently, in the main, the fruit of first-hand reading and reflection, contains much that is of value. Throughout the volume copious quotations from the English poets add to the reader's pleasure. A comic relief is afforded by the selections from Leigh Hunt's 'Story of Rimini.'

—The death of John Foster Kirk, which took place on the 21st of September, at his home at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, was the passing away of a man of letters of the older generation, who of late years had come little before the notice of the general public, whose one important work was published forty years ago, but who maintained to the very end of his life of fourscore years a constant quiet activity in some form or other of scholarly or literary work, and a wide interest in literatue and thought. Mr. Kirk was born in Fredericton, N. B., in 1824, and in 1842 came to Boston, where he was engaged in proofreading and reviewing; the task of supplying the punctuation to the first edition of Emerson's poems being among those that fell in his way. The first impulse to historical research came to him during his eleven years' service as secretary to William H. Prescott, with the opportunities thus thrown in his way of access to authorities and association with scholars and men of letters in this country and abroad. When, after Prescott's death, he turned to work of his own, and to a topic on which his mind had already been for some time engaged, the career of the great Duke of Burgundy, he left nothing untouched which could throw light upon his subject, collecting himself a considerable number of rare chronicles and memoirs of the period, visiting the scenes of Charles's victories and defeats, and seeking diligently after fresh material in the French and Swiss archives. The first two volumes of the 'History of Charles the Bold' were published by John Murray in London and by J. B. Lippincott in this country, in 1863; the third volume came out in 1868. The work, though received with much cordiality by scholars here and abroad, including the highest Continental authorities on the subject, had not the wide sale which Murray had been led to expect for it by Dean Milman and others, who had expressed enthusiastic estimates in regard to it. The trouble may have been with the bloody character and acts of its hero. But this Life still remains the most important work on its subject. It was a loss to letters that its author's riper years should have been passed in occupations which afforded little opportunity for the prosecution of further labors in the field of historical research. In 1870 Mr. Kirk became editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, and with the Lippincott house he was ever after associated. The revised edition of Prescott's works which they brought out in 1873-6 was prepared by him, and contains supplementary notes from his hand; and after he had retired, in 1886, from the conduct of the magazine, he prepared the Supplement to Allibone's 'Dictionary of Authors,' by which Allibone's work is continued down to 1888. His contributions to periodic literature, mostly unsigned, included personal reminiscences of Carlyle, Thackeray, and Rossetti. Mr. Kirk was for two years, 1886-8, Lecturer on History at the University of Pennsylvania, and the degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by that institution. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society till his removal to Philadelphia, when he was elected an honorary member. In the early days of the *Nation* he was an occasional contributor to its columns.

—The announcement from Yokohama that Lafcadio Hearn died in Tokio, September 26, of heart trouble, did not surprise those who knew of the extremely delicate state of his health during the past twelvemonth or longer. In him the world of scholarship loses a keen interpreter of the Japanese people and civilization. Born in 1850, in the Ionian Islands, of a Greek mother and an Irish father, Mr. Hearn seems to have been from childhood intensely susceptible to beauty. At the age of nineteen, he came to America and entered upon journalistic pursuits at New Orleans, afterwards writing for the magazines articles noted for their grace and literary finish. In a trip to the West Indies he enlarged his unusual powers of discriminating and appreciative observation by study of the various races. Attracted to the Chinese and Japanese by reading the works of the French Sinologists, and to the search from the first for the *weird beauty* of their legends (the italics are Mr. Hearn's

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own, in his preface to 'Some Chinese Ghosts'), he determined about 1890 to betake himself to Japan. Beginning as a teacher in the south, he rose to be lecturer on English literature in the Imperial University in Tokio. Marrying a native lady and getting naturalized, he withdrew from the society of Occidental folk in Japan, and became a veritable sensitive plate for impressions of the variegated life of Japan, past and present, visible and invisible, in its minute details. He was, as was no other alien, the photographer of the Japanese soul. No one understood more thoroughly the æsthetic asset of Japan's treasure house.

THE GREAT EARL OF CORK.

The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork. By Dorothea Townshend. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1904.

When Sir Walter Ralegh became involved in pecuniary and other troubles he sold his Irish estates to Richard Boyle, at that time a lawyer of no great fame, but gifted with good judgment and exceptional energy. The sale took place in 1602—that is to say, on the eve of Elizabeth's death, and before Ralegh had been overwhelmed by his final misfortunes. Coming thus into possession of 42,000 acres of land, Boyle determined to render his property valuable, and so well did he succeed that before long he had gained an earldom, and made himself the richest man in Ireland. Every one knows how it was reserved for others to benefit by Ralegh's colonization schemes, but few are familiar with the career of the man who acquired his estates in Ireland and converted them into the corner-stone of a magnificent fortune:

"In his own day," says Miss Townshend, "Boyle was called the Great Earl of Cork as invariably as though it were a part of his title; now his very name is forgotten, save when some Munster antiquary points to a squalid hamlet or a desolate seashore, and tells that here the Great Earl of Cork had his linen factories, yonder he mined for silver, and there stood his sheds for curing pilchards, in the days when he had made the land to prosper."

Richard Boyle, the subject of this biography, was born in Canterbury at the close of 1566, the son of an impoverished gentleman. A scholarship at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, gave him his literary education, and, proceeding from the University to London, he was admitted to the Middle Temple. Fortune, however, declined to favor him in any substantial way, until, during the Armada year, he migrated to Dublin. As the Elizabethan grants of land had caused much litigation, he found enough to do, and incidentally formed convictions regarding the potential value of Irish property. The pacification of the island, which occurred in the last years of the Queen's reign, proved a source of immediate advantage to speculators, and Boyle, with natural shrewdness and adequate local knowledge, seized his opportunity. That he had enemies did not prevent him from defeating them and clearing himself of sinister charges in Elizabeth's own presence. From this time forward his advance to prosperity was rapid. By successive stages he became clerk to the Munster Council, member for Lismore in the Irish Parliament, privy councillor for Ireland, and Earl of Cork. The more important of his promotions fell within the reign of James I., his title being secured as most titles were secured in days when baronetcies brought £1,000 apiece. Boyle was a serious-minded if not a religious man, and he always kept a diary. Referring to his earldom, Miss Townshend says:

"His gratitude to Heaven was shown by his choice of a motto. The Earl of Cork's shield ever after bore the pious words, 'God's providence is my inheritance.' His thankfulness to King James was as great as if the honor had been bestowed out of pure grace; to the feelings of those days there was neither degradation nor bathos in the added entry: 'The fees whereof in England and Ireland stood me in £305. 4. 4 sterl., besides £4,500 sterl. otherwise paid.'"

Had Boyle been merely a successful speculator in Irish lands who got himself ennobled by cash payments, it is not likely, even in these days of multiplied biographies, that he would be taken as the central figure of an elaborate work. His personality awakens a good deal of interest when once it is interpreted through his journal and letters. Strafford dignified him by fierce and special attack, Cromwell spoke of him in terms of high admiration, and Evelyn says that his wonderful sagacity was equalled by his probity. In the warmth of his family affections he recalls Henry Fox, and his record as a public man will stand far closer scrutiny than Fox's. But most of all he is to be remembered for the success of his attempts to stimulate industries in Ireland. Here his enterprise was due in the first instance to an intelligent sense of self-interest; yet it would be unfair to deny him the credit of having acted from higher motives than those of selfishness or ambition alone. "He came to Munster," says Miss Townshend, "resolved to show what the English rule in Ireland ought to mean, and to convert a country devastated by war and famine into a rich and contented portion of the Queen's dominions." And if this was his design, the result justified beyond all expectation his boldness and public spirit. Though an Englishman, he gained the confidence of the native population and even of its hereditary leaders. His open-handed hospitality endeared him to a convivial race, and opposition to Catholicism did not prevent him from maintaining friendly relations with Catholic chiefs.

Boyle sought to Anglicize Munster with all completeness, but his methods were those of a sensible, good-hearted man. To lawlessness he opposed peace, and to semi-barbarism the agencies of an industrial civilization. So numerous were the enterprises which he set afoot that it is difficult to give a just idea of them in a few words, but Miss Townsend indicates their general tendency when she says:

"Under his fostering care, comfortable farmhouses sprang up in the deserted valleys, lonely sea-bays were changed into harbors crowded with fishing-smacks and merchantmen, among the barren mountains were seen the glow of his iron forges, his water-mills and salmon wears were found on every stream. In the eastern part of the Province he rebuilt the towns that had been ruined in the Desmond wars, and among the impassable western forests he founded the frontier towns of Bandon, Clonakilty, Enniskeane, and Castletown, to hold the settled country secure against the raids of the wild tribes of West Carberry and Kerry."

The most interesting branch, perhaps, of his activities was the mining industry. While he gained little by his search for copper, he discovered lead and silver in profitable quantities, besides building up extensive iron works at Ballyregan, Cappoquin, Mocollop, Ardglyn, Kilmacoe, and Lisfinnon. "The ore is said by a contemporary to be hematite, bog-iron ore, and clay ironstone; and Boyle worked it into all sorts of forms, from bar iron for export to the Tallow knives he sent to Lady Carew as a Christmas present. In seven years he made 21,000 tons of bar iron, worth at £18 a ton the immense sum of £378,000." A striking personal touch is that Boyle was by theory a free-trader in an age when the short cut to wealth lay through a grant of monopoly.

To give some idea of the power which the Earl of Cork gained through the application of business methods to the exploitation of Munster, we may say that he could levy from his own estates an army of 1,679 foot and 501 horse. With such military resources and a command of ready money which was almost unique at this period, he became a mark for the exactions of Strafford when the principles of absolutism were being applied to Ireland under the form of Thorough. As land titles had been very unsettled during the reign of James I., when Boyle was acquiring most of his enormous property, there was no lack of technical grounds upon which to attack him. For some time he could not tell whether he would be completely ruined through Strafford's hostility or whether he would get off with the payment of a fine. In 1636 the blow fell, and he was forced to pay the Crown £15,000 on the score of having acquired lands at Youghal by irregular means. Everything considered, he escaped lightly so far as his purse was concerned, but the form of his humiliation remained a lasting source of vexation to him. The close of his life was rendered distressful by the Irish rebellion of 1641, and the destruction through its means of much that he had accomplished. Nevertheless, his work in Munster represents the best effort made by the English in Ireland during the first part of the seventeenth century, and won for him high praise in high quarters. According to Cromwell, Ireland would have escaped the rising of 1641 had there been but one Earl of Cork in every province.

Miss Townshend deserves hearty thanks for having given us a complete picture of Boyle's life. Her book is scholarly and discriminating as well as sympathetic. That she has delicacy of perception may be seen from her concluding words. After sketching a life which was full of getting and spending, she breaks off with a reference to higher things:

"The dust of well-nigh two centuries and a half has gathered over the glories of the great Earl of Cork; his wealthy eldest son is forgotten; even the brilliant Orrery and gallant Shannon are no more to us than names. Of all the Boyle family only one is familiar to us to-day, Robert the philosopher, who never made money, nor accepted a title, nor desired to rule over any kingdom but that of his own gentle spirit."

RENNERT'S LIFE OF LOPE DE VEGA.

The Life of Lope de Vega (1562-1635). By Hugo Albert Rennert, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Campion & Co. and J. J. M'Vey. 1904.

It is nearly one hundred years since the publication of Lord Holland's biography of

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the Spanish dramatist, and his was the last extensive work in English on the subject. In the meantime fresh facts have been brought to notice by several critics and historians, notably by Ticknor, Von Schack, La Barrera, Pérez Pastor, and Asenjo Barbieri, so that the time is ripe for the harvesting of many new details of information. Professor Rennert's book is all the more opportune in view of the revival of Lope's fame, so long unjustly eclipsed by that of Calderón. In the eyes of the outer world, Calderón had been exalted by the German Romantics to a position of dramatic preeminence which he was not entitled to claim for his sole possession. A reaction in favor of Lope was inaugurated in the German-speaking territory by Grillparzer, and a similar impulse toward an equitable adjustment of literary rights has been manifested in John Rutter Chorley's articles in such English periodicals as the *Athenæum* and *Fraser's Magazine*. Of late Lope's own countrymen have taken steps in the direction of the complete rehabilitation of his glorious memory, for the Spanish Academy has entered on the printing of a magnificent new edition of his dramatic works under the able direction of the prince of Spanish literary critics, Menéndez y Pelayo.

Mr. Rennert has utilized all that his predecessors in the field of investigation had to offer him, and he has added thereto a wealth of information which his own extensive researches have well qualified him to state with the weight of authority. Step by step he has followed the checkered course of Lope's career, chronicling his liaisons no less than his legitimate matrimonial adventures, and listing and characterizing his many literary productions in the order of their composition and publication, interpreting them, too, whenever they seemed to have bearings upon the author's private life. If he has not hesitated to make known the obvious infamy of procedure in Lope the man, he has been prompt to eulogize the positive achievements of Lope the brilliant and original dramatist. Sanity and fairness have moved him in his endeavor to provide us with a comprehensive account of the doings of one of the world's imperishable geniuses, the Phœnix of Spain, as even Lope's own contemporaries called him.

In no case more than in that of Lope de Vega is it necessary for the modern reader to dissociate the inglorious life of the man from the splendid labors of the poet. The known blemishes in the character of a Shakspere affect hardly at all our estimate of the transcendent value of the dramatist; there is no little danger that the moral blots on Lope's personality will sadly impair the lustre of the writer, if they be not sedulously kept out of view. For Lope was a strange compound of sensuality, pettiness, servility, and genius. Fortunately, this last quality outweighed all the others. Still a very young man, he was brought to trial for a scandalous libel upon a woman whom he had loved and upon her family, and as a well-deserved punishment for his crime he was exiled from the kingdom of Castile for two years under pain of death, and was banished from the capital for a still longer period; later on, he seems to have been arrested for cohabitation. Twice married, he figured constantly in amours of which children were the result. Even after taking Holy Orders for the express purpose of "bringing order into his disorder," he fell again from grace; and this affair, the basest of all, was with a married woman. Furthermore, while engaged in his own erotic pursuits, he acted as a poetical pander, and indited love ditties intended for the mistresses of his patron, the Duke of Sessa. It was not heedlessly, either, that Lope sinned and sinned again. His correspondence shows that he realized the enormity of his conduct: repentance was ever on his lips; his spirit was very willing to reform, but his flesh was deplorably weak as long as lusty youth and manhood lasted. Then, when old age came upon him, when his vanity was wounded repeatedly by the favor shown to playwrights of a younger generation and the popular neglect of himself, the poor sinner's heart was broken and his end hastened by two grievous calamities—the loss of his son Lope and the elopement of his daughter Antonia. Retribution came upon him in this world; let the world forgive and forget his frailties.

Turning now to the contemplation of Lope the author, who dominated as its crowning figure the golden age of Spanish letters, one is overcome with sheer amazement at the magnitude of his literary labors carried on despite the distractions of a life of moral turpitude. Practically all the more important forms of verse composition were essayed by him, and although he may not have developed any exceeding degree of skill in his epic endeavors, he undoubtedly attained to success in his pastorals and lyrics, and scored innumerable triumphs with his plays. The poetical worth of his ballads has rightly been ranked very high by Mr. Rennert, who has felicitously rendered into English some of the typical among them, just as he has ingeniously interpreted the autobiographical references contained in the pastorals. It is with Lope's plays, however, that the world is mainly concerned, and the number of these almost overtaxes one's credulity. According to a statement made by the poet himself in his "Egloga á Claudio," he composed no fewer than 1,500 plays, exclusive of the *autos* or short religious pieces. In the panegyrical 'Fama Postuma,' his disciple and biographer, Montalván, put the figure at 1,800. The critics are prone to regard these numbers as greatly exaggerated, but, after all allowances are made, Lope's fertility still remains prodigious. If we may credit another assertion of his, he wrote more than 100 of his *comedias* within the space of twenty-four hours each. Of this vast dramatic output there are actually known to us at present some 431 *comedias*—clearly, enough for the abiding fame of any one author; and, in him who reads systematically any considerable number of them, wonder increases steadily at the unfailing originality shown by Lope in the devising and unravelling of so many plots, not to speak of the extraordinary talent revealed in his harmonious blending together of a multitude of varying metres. Mr. Rennert has read deeply into Lope, his favorite author, of whose pieces he himself possesses no fewer than 300, and he thus states his judgment respecting them:

"In all the countless number of his plays, judging from the many that I have read, I will make bold to assert that there is not one which is wholly bad—not one without repeated bursts of lofty poetry which only a splendid genius could have written."

It is interesting to note that Lope was entirely cognizant of the fact that his plays do not as a rule observe the precepts of classicism. This is attested by characteristic remarks in his treatise 'The New Art of Making Plays' *(Arte nuevo de hacer comedias)*, some of which have been translated by Mr. Rennert. In this wise, for example, does Lope explain his attitude with regard to the classic art of dramatic composition and the methods in vogue in his time:

"Noble wits, the flower of Spain, you ask me to compose for you a treatise on the Art of Making Plays which may be acceptable to the public of the present day. Easy this subject appears, and easy it would be for any one of you who has written less *comedias* and who knows more about the art of writing them. But what is a disadvantage to me in this matter is my having written them against the rules of art. Not because I was ignorant of the precepts for, while still a tyro in grammar, I read the books which treat of them, yes, even before I was ten years old. I did it because I found that at that time the *comedias* in Spain were not as their first inventors thought they should be written, but rather as they were treated by the barbarians who accustomed the vulgar to their crudities; and so they introduced them in such a way that he who would now write according to the rules of art would die without fame and without reward, for custom is more powerful than reason, in those who lack reason's light. True it is that I have sometimes written following the rules that are known to few, but as soon as I see the monsters, full of apparitions, coming forth, to which flock the public and the women, who canonize this sad spectacle, then forthwith do I return to my barbarous custom; and when I have to write a *comedia* I lock up the precepts with six keys, cast Terence and Plautus from my study, so that they may not cry out—for truth is wont to speak aloud even in mute books—and I write according to the art which they invented who sought the vulgar applause. For, as the common herd pays for them, it is meet to speak to them like an ignoramus, in order to please them."

The self-depreciation expressed in such statements is not to be taken too literally, of course.

The usefulness of Mr. Rennert's clear exposition of facts appertaining to Lope de Vega's life and work is increased by the appendices, in which he reprints from Pérez Pastor and La Barrera the record of Lope's trial for slander and the poet's several wills and testaments, and above all by his including within the covers of his book an admirable catalogue of Lope's plays. This catalogue, which at the last moment he substituted for one prepared by himself, is a recast of John Rutter Chorley's 'Catálogo de Comedias y Autos de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio,' originally published in the fifty-second volume of the "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles." Chorley revised this earlier form of his work, and bequeathed the interleaved copy containing his corrections and additions to the British Museum. There it lay until Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly called its existence to the attention of the present editor, who has provided it with supplementary information not available in Chorley's time.

In conclusion, the book may safely be recommended to those who desire in English a good account of the life of the greatest of Spanish playwrights. It is excellently printed, and, though bulky (for it extends to nearly six hundred pages), it has but few errata. Most of these have been

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noted at the end in a list following a good general index.

The Quintessence of Ibsenism. By G. Bernard Shaw. New York: Brentano's. 1904.

Thirteen years have passed since Mr. Shaw first published his essay on Ibsen. It had been read as a paper before the Fabian Society in London at a time when the Fabian policy had a certain vogue, or at least a degree of notoriety. The Fabians, under the presidency of Mrs. Annie Besant, put up a lively debate, and Mr. Shaw had to defend his thesis against some of the keenest wits in London. Shortly after, several of Ibsen's plays were performed before the British public, which greeted them with so perfect a lack of comprehension that Mr. Shaw came to the rescue with this essay.

According to Ibsen himself, a normally built truth has a life of twenty years at most. But its life does not begin until it is generally known and pretty generally accepted—is, in fact, no longer interesting to the pioneer. Ibsen in his old age, the Socrates of Norway, faces a society grown more tolerant, but hardly more receptive, of his ideals than when Mr. Shaw began to defend them. Mr. Shaw's thesis, therefore, bears reprinting, because it is still in that stage so fascinating to the reformer when he can count on its being labelled even by intelligent critics as immoral, or cynical, or paradoxical. It would be a dull world for Mr. Shaw, the playwright, if his playgoers should be transformed into philosophers who could not be shocked or astonished or mystified. As it is, he may rest in the assurance that the majority of those who see his plays or read his books are far from bringing a premature old age on his theories by accepting them.

What Mr. Shaw sets out to explain is the moral doctrine that Ibsen desires to impart, the cure which he attempts to apply to the complicated Scandinavian soul. He is not concerned with Ibsen's æsthetics nor with his development. He passes by the question whether such and such a play is classical, romantic, or naturalistic, and what stage of Ibsen's philosophy it may mark. Mr. Shaw deals with twelve plays only, beginning with "Brand" and observing the chronological order down to "Hedda Gabler," the last play published when he wrote this essay. These twelve plays all illustrate the effect of idealism on society, and aim to prove that "the real slavery of to-day is slavery to ideals of virtue." By an ideal he means a fancy picture, a sort of mask which society has not the courage to do without. So immortality is the mask fixed on the face of death; the sanctity of the institution of marriage disguises more than one brutal truth, and so on. The realist, who is in the proportion of one in a thousand, is he who is strong enough to face the truth which the rest, whether they be Philistines or idealists, are shirking. He is, in fact, the "Superman" of Mr. Shaw's last play, who is, however, in the end defeated by the convictions embodied in a woman determined to marry him and cure him of speaking the truth about the facts of life. That, from Ibsen's point of view (which Mr. Shaw adopts), is a melancholy triumph of society over the individual, "that most precious pearl," which, says M. Brandes, a Scandinavian, Kierkegaard presented to his epoch.

The typical villain of an Ibsen play will, therefore, be an idealist who imposes the outmoded ideals of society on some unhappy individual, who may, of course, be himself, as with Brand, who sacrificed himself, his wife and child. The heroine will be an "unwomanly woman," a Marie Bashkirtseff or a Nora rather than an Agnes. The realist, the sane man in such a community, is he or she who asserts the claim of the real in defiance of every fetter forged by society. Mrs. Alving in "Ghosts" was responsible for the tragedy of her son's life because she accepted the idealistic teaching of Pastor Manders and returned to her dissolute husband instead of leaving him free to follow his temperament and asserting the claims of her own. Nora, however, though she is almost crushed by the selfish idealism of Helmer, has more character than Mrs. Alving, and in her the rights of the individual are avenged. In the "Wild Duck" Ibsen satirizes the incorrigible idealist who insists on telling the truth and so destroying the peace of a household made happy by romantic illusions. We cannot all face the truth; the average man needs a vital lie to support him, and the idealistic busybody learns from the tragedy of the "Wild Duck" that ideally frank relations between a husband and wife cannot be manufactured from without. "Rosmersholm" has seemed to most critics of Ibsen to be a *volte-face*, a proof that Ibsen had gradually, and in profound discouragement, come to accept the fact that the development of the individual, the assertion of the pagan ideal of the right to live and enjoy, might have to yield after all to the Christian ideal of renunciation. It is the voice of Musset:

"Malgré nous, vers le Ciel il faut lever les yeux."

When Rebecca West expiates her selfishness by her death and the death of Rosmer, the Rosmersholm conventional ideal of morality triumphs. But Mr. Shaw, to maintain his thesis, prefers to believe, not that "Rosmersholm" is Ibsen's adieu to the cult of nature which he preached in "Ghosts"—a confession that a society which has accepted the Christian ideal cannot react to paganism; he regards it rather as one more instance of the fatal effects of idealism, a protest against the Rosmersholm view of life, the view that denied to Rebecca the right to live and be happy. The woman, says Mr. Shaw, had the higher light when she asserted her individuality at the cost of another's life.

Here, at any rate, we believe that Mr. Shaw's theory has carried him away. When Ibsen's followers represent him as adopting the "Greek view" of life, the desire to grasp at enjoyment and to give youth its due, they forget that the Greeks would have considered the death of Rebecca and Rosmer as the only fitting expiation of their crime. Even Hedda Gabler, says Mr. Shaw, acted at the dictates of a fatal and outworn idealism—only, in this case, she made wrongdoing her ideal. This strikes one as an over-ingenious interpretation of a play whose motives are already complex enough. Hedda's fierce egoism is rather a warning against the ideal of Mrs. Alving when it is envisaged by a woman without scruples and without soul.

The critics of Ibsen are of course drawn from all of the three classes into which Mr. Shaw divides society. Needless to say, he is himself the realistic critic. If his reading of the plays should be generally accepted by his readers, he would at once understand that he or Ibsen, or both, had become old-fashioned and must be swept away. Few people, however, even now, read Ibsen with any sort of desire to find out what he is driving at or which side he takes. Mr. Shaw's essay must at least have the effect of rousing their curiosity, for they will find that to understand it they must constantly turn to the plays and regard them not as curious and fantastic studies of Scandinavian society, but as an array of types which, like the characters of Theophrastus, flourish in all societies and at all times.

The Story of Chamber Music. By N. Kilburn. Charles Scribner's Sons.

While the Englishman who wrote this book is conductor of the Middlesborough, Sunderland, and Bishop Auckland musical societies, his taste seems to incline him particularly to a form of music which requires no conductor at all. He poses the question which of the great forms of musical composition it would be preferable to plead for in case all the others were doomed to destruction, and answers that it is certain that many a musician would, if forced to such a choice, "without hesitation pledge himself to uphold the claims of chamber music; for who can measure the almost infinite variety and charm which it affords, and that, too, with the slenderest means? Probably no other form of music would wear so well as this, and to hardly any other could we turn, day by day, with such abiding satisfaction."

It is to be feared that not five per cent. of music lovers in general would agree with Mr. Kilburn in his preference. The vast majority of them would vote for the opera, while lyric song, pianoforte, and orchestral music would all have returns far ahead of chamber music, which, except in Berlin and in some other German centres, plays but a small rôle among musical entertainments. At the same time it would be wrong to gauge the popularity of instrumental quintets, quartets, trios, and duos by the frequency with which they are heard in public. Chamber music, like lyric song and pianoforte music, is heard to best advantage not in a concert hall, but in a private music room of moderate dimensions. The playing of it in a large auditorium is a concession to the desire of hearing the great artists in such music, and the necessity of having an audience large enough to compensate them. Amateurs, moreover, seldom have sufficient technical ability to quite do justice to many of the masterworks in this domain of art.

Whatever one's individual preferences may be, it cannot be denied that an addiction to chamber music, at home or in the concert hall, is a healthy sign of musical life and progress, and cannot be commended too highly. Those who incline to make experiments in this direction will find Mr. Kilburn's book a useful manual. It considers the history of chamber music from the earliest times to Brahms and Dvořák, Richard Strauss and Bruckner, and the opinions advanced are usually sound. Judging by the comparative allotment of space, the author has more sympathy with the

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older composers than with the modern schools. Tchaikovsky and Grieg, in particular, are treated at much less length than they deserve, which is the more surprising inasmuch as a Russian composer entirely unknown to fame, Gretchaninoff, has twelve pages devoted to him, while Tchaikovsky has only one. The exalted position of Schubert among chamber music composers also is hardly realized by our author.

This book has copious illustrations in musical type, pictures of composers and players, autographs, and an appendix containing brief biographic notes, besides a glossary of terms, in which, for example, the principal variety of chamber music, the string quartet, is thus defined:

"The instruments which form this combination, viz., the two violins, viola, and violoncello, are, as to their construction, the result of a slow development of probably 1,000 years, the fully developed violin dating from about the end of the fifteenth century. Music for the string quartet came into vogue about the middle of the eighteenth century. Earlier than this such music usually took the form of the sonata *à tre*, viz., two violins and bass."

The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. With Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle. Edited in three volumes, with notes, supplement, and enlarged index, by S. C. Lomas. With an Introduction by C. H. Firth, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.

The present edition of Carlyle's 'Cromwell' contains a thorough overhauling of the work by Mr. Lomas as collator, and Mr. Firth as critic. In one way it is unfortunate for this famous book that the era of the Civil War and the Protectorate should have been studied with such minute care by Gardiner and others during the past half century. Judged by modern standards of learning and accuracy, Carlyle is open to grave reproach, even when we have assigned his classic to the field of literature rather than of history. For example, he is always covering with sarcasm the antiquaries, like Birch and Noble, to whom he is indebted for guidance and material. Yet, as Mr. Lomas shows by the most explicit proof, they were often right, while Carlyle went wrong by neglecting to read the plain statements of fact which are contained in their books. Thus, he says: "Dorothy Cromwell . . . has a 'little brat'; but the poor little thing must have died soon: in Noble's inexact lists there is no trace of its ever having lived." Noble, however, gives the exact date of birth, and tells us that the "little brat" lived to be over eighty. Carlyle might well have spared numerous anathemas against his predecessors, and profited by using with more care what they had left behind them. At least this would be our comment if Carlyle could be tried by the standard applied to the ordinary historian.

But when a man reaches the measure of a prophet, he cannot be grouped with the *historicus officinalis*, and has not Mr. Birrell called Carlyle the greatest figure in English letters since the death of Johnson? His 'Cromwell' was designed to be an artistic piece of interpretation, and the merits which won it recognition in 1846 belong to it still despite Gardiner *et al.* Carlyle first disclosed to the English world an essential historical fact, namely, that Cromwell was neither fanatical nor hypocritical, but honest. From the first he carried public opinion with him, and though a few years ago Parliament declined to vote a statue to the Protector, the debate abounds in acknowledgments of his true greatness. And, furthermore, Carlyle took exactly the right means to accomplish his purpose, for by publishing the text of the letters he presents Cromwell (picturesque editing notwithstanding) as he actually was. From the nature of its effect upon the general sentiment, Carlyle's 'Cromwell' is more important than his 'Frederick' or his 'French Revolution.'

Historical errors abound in it—not slight ones, like the fate of Dorothy Cromwell's "little brat"—but vitiations of the gravest character, such as the reiterated statement that Cromwell was a despiser of parliaments. Reading his own present-day philosophy into the events of the period, and limited by a large ignorance of English history prior to the Civil War, Carlyle worked out some singular results. Of these two shortcomings his prejudice against parliaments was on the whole the more fruitful source of perversion. He either did not know or would not admit that Cromwell protected the Long Parliament from the army for above a year before he suppressed it, and enacted the celebrated scene only in the last resort. Furthermore, Carlyle misrepresents the whole tenor of the political development which follows 1653. As Mr. Firth says in his introduction:

"When Cromwell had put the key of the House in his pocket, and had sent the members about their business, he did not decree (as Carlyle would have done) that henceforth there should be no more talking-shops in England. On the contrary, the first thing he did was to call another, in order 'to divest the sword of all power in the civil administration,' and when that failed, he called a second and a third. For Cromwell's political ideal was not a government without parliaments, but a government which worked with and through parliaments. Without the consent of the people of England in Parliament assembled he knew that he could found nothing permanent, that he could not secure for posterity the civil and religious liberties for which so many men had died."

It is the function of Mr. Firth, in the introduction from which we have just quoted, to put Carlyle's Cromwell into line with the most recent research and with the sanest opinion now current regarding the great Rebellion. The criticism thus called for he has furnished in a manner that exacts exceptional praise, for he has brought learning, insight and literary skill to bear upon a large historical issue. There is much wit in his essay or thirty pages, and among its humors may be mentioned the detailed account of Carlyle's relations with Mr. William Squire of Yarmouth, who, after the first appearance of 'Cromwell,' announced that he possessed the journal of Sam Squire, a Roundhead trooper, and also thirty-five letters of Cromwell himself. These letters Carlyle published in *Fraser's Magazine*, and held to be authentic against the whole weight of antiquarian opinion, though they contained a good smattering of nineteenth-century phrases. Even when he met Squire he was not enlightened, but found the author of the hoax "full of innocence." The episode is curious in itself, and illustrates in a somewhat unexpected manner the working of Carlyle's mind.

Mr. Lomas's contribution to this edition is largely bibliographical, but his painstaking examination of Carlyle's methods as editor is hardly less interesting than the general criticisms of Mr. Firth. We cite his chief generalization, together with a peculiar example which falls under it:

"Taking Carlyle's edition as a whole, the mistakes in the letters are very numerous, but not, as a rule, important. Sometimes, however, they affect the sense, and in such cases Carlyle unhesitatingly inserted words of his own, without reflecting that, as Cromwell was a very accurate writer, he would not be likely to send out letters which needed such 'embellishments' to explain them. See, for instance, Letter XCIII., written to Mr. Mayor on the subject of Richard Cromwell's marriage, and entirely in Cromwell's own hand. Into this short letter Carlyle inserted nineteen words, most of which were quite unnecessary, and one or two misleading. Moreover, where Cromwell speaks of the contingency of Mayor himself having a *son*, Carlyle (who imagined him to be speaking of Richard) added a note, 'Grandson, *i. e.* In the next sentence, die means more properly *live*.' It is hardly necessary to say that, in an important business letter, Cromwell did not say 'son' when he meant 'grandson,' or 'die' when he meant 'live.'"

This edition not only supersedes all others, but has much independent value as a piece of erudition.

Belgian Life in Town and Country. By Demetrius C. Boulger. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.

This is a painstaking account of Belgium considered from every side—social, political, racial, commercial, industrial, rural, urban, educational, legal, literary, military, and colonial. If the book has a fault it is one in a measure inherent in the subject, namely, that it is not in the national development of Belgium as a modern country that we are mainly interested. Belgium has been created in the last seventy-five years, but, clever as the creation is, it does not much appeal to us. It is a little too French, perhaps, for us to believe it original. This is a pity, for, philosophically considered, the wonderful prosperity of Belgium is the result of an interesting experiment in autonomy and liberal institutions.

Owing to the perversity of the human mind, prosperity and good government do not stimulate the imagination, and consequently the tourist and ordinary reader will care less than they ought for a good deal of Mr. Boulger's information. But the author may fairly reply that he did not write for the tourist and ordinary reader. They are already provided for. The glories of the historic "Low Countries," their treasures of art and architecture, are celebrated more fully by other writers. Mr. Boulger does not by any means pass these subjects over altogether, but has essayed the useful, if humbler, task of showing us Belgium as it is; and this, we think, he has done very well. His picture of Belgium gives just the necessary amount of history; the rest is description. In the opening chapters on Fleming and Walloon, the modern Constitution and the Legislature and electorate, he is perhaps at his best. The study of the mining life of the country in chapter vii. is also valuable in a different way.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Addison, Julia de Wolf. Classic Myths in Art. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. $2 net.
Aflalo, M. The Truth about Morocco. London: John Lane.

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Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Vol. VII. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. $4 net.
Elliot, Daniel Giraud. The Land and Sea Mammals of Middle America and the West Indies. Zoological Series, Vol. IV. Parts I. and II. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum.
Fetter, Frank A. The Principles of Economics. The Century Co.
Field, Walter Taylor. Rome. Two vols. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. $2.40 net.
Gass's Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. With an Analytical Index and Introduction by James Kendall Hosmer. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $5 net.
Goff, Emmet S., and Mayne, D. D. First Principles of Agriculture. American Book Company.
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Irwin, Wallace. Nautical Lays of a Landsman. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.
Jack, Adolphus Alfred. Shelley. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.
Japan in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. Published by the Imperial Japanese Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.
Johnston, Annie Fellows. The Little Colonel in Arizona. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. $1.50.
Kaye, John Brayshaw. Vashti. Putnams. $1.25.
King, W. Francis H. Classical and Foreign Quotations. New ed. London: J. Whitaker & Sons; New York: Thomas Whittaker. $2.50.
Lawrence, T. J. War and Neutrality in the Far East. London: Macmillan. 3s. 6d.
Litchfield, Frederick. How to Collect Old Furniture. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. $2.
Litchfield, Grace Denio. The Letter D. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Loomis, Charles Battell. More Cheerful Americans. Henry Holt & Co. $1.25.
Mann, Hugh. Bound and Free. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.
Newell, J. R. Poems and Songs. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.30.
Niver, Harmon B. A School History of England. American Book Company.
Ober, Frederick A. Our West Indian Neighbors. James Pott & Co. $2.50 net.
Osler, William. Science and Immortality. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 85 cents net.
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Phillpotts, Eden. The Farm of the Dagger. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Potter, A. W. Grammar School Algebra. American Book Company.
Potts, William. More Notes from Underledge. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1 net.
Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, 1807-1817. Volumes II. and III. Albany: Published by the State of New York.
Rhead, G. Woolliscroft. The Treatment of Drapery in Art. London: George Bell & Sons. New York: Macmillan. $2.
Rider, Sidney S. The Lands of Rhode Island as They were Known to Caunounicus and Miantunnomu when Roger Williams Came in 1636. Published by the Author in Providence.
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